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10 October 1984

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HABASH ATTEMPTS TO HEAL PLO RIFT IN DAMASCUS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 pp 12-13

[Article: "Fresh Attempts at a Palestinian Reconciliation"]

[Text] Last week Damascus played host to a number of Arab and foreign delegations and President Asad received telephone calls from several Arab leaders. The last call was from Colonel Qadhdhafi after some contacts had been made at lower levels between Damascus and Tripoli. President Asad received a written message from President Qadhdhafi that Hamd al-Zawi carried. He also received a message from the Algerian president transmitted by his ambassador in Damascus.

These contacts reflected the importance of Syria's role at the pan-Arab level and the hopes resting on it.

On the other hand, last Sunday President al-Asad received Dr George Ha'ash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, while Syrian-Palestinian contacts continued through a delegation of the executive committee and Palestinian-Palestinian contacts continued through regular meetings between the various factions and groups.

AL-MUSTAQBAL has learned that Dr George Habash is still persisting in the task of reconciling the different viewpoints of the factions belonging to the National Alliance - Al-Sa'iqah and the General Command, the Popular Struggle Front, the Abu Musa group - and the other factions and that his visit to Damascus was part of this effort. While the National Alliance announced through Ahmad Jibril that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is in accord with the Alliance opposing the holding of the coming session of the Palestine National Council, the spokesman of the Popular Front denied that but at the same time expressed the hope that the appearance of signs of an easing of the crisis would provide opportunities for everyone to participate in the coming meeting of the National Council.

The chief elements of the Alliance held a press conference last Monday at which they violently attacked the idea of holding this meeting and charged the authorities and countries favoring the meeting with the

responsibility for breaking up the FLO completely. They reiterated at the conference their determination to use every available means to block the holding of such a meeting.

In the midst of this gloomy atmosphere prevailing in the Palestinian arena, a high-level South Yemeni envoy arrived in Damascus last Tuesday on a mission intended to clear the air as part of the role that the democratic Yemen is playing in this field.

5214

CSO: 4404/656

DAMASCUS RENEWS CONFIDENCE IN KARAMI

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 p 14

[Article by Marwan al-Mahayani]

[Text] Immediately after the fighting in the mountain between the Socialist Progressive Party and the Lebanese Army escalated, Syria hastened to solidify its contacts and block the negative development and confront it as a setback in the campaign to rescue Lebanon that is led by the National Unity government with Syria's help. Last Monday President Asad, after quickly getting in touch with the various parties concerned, sent Major General Muhammad al-Khuli to Bikfayya where he met for 4 hours with President al-Jumayyil and Prime Minister Karami. He then returned to Damascus to report the results of his mission and contacts to President al-Asad. On the same day it was decided that Nabih Birri and Walid Junblat would visit Damascus. They arrived there on Tuesday and met immediately with 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, vice president of the republic while it was being announced in Beirut that the presidents al-Jumayyil and Karami would soon visit Damascus.

AL-MUSTAQBAL has learned that Major General al-Khuli's mission involved the security line in the mountain, arrangements connected with the South, and the need to stabilize the security situation in preparation for shifting to special arrangements for resolving the situation in the south. Major General al-Khuli's mission was warmly welcomed and Prime Minister Karami expressed that by pointing out that all the obstacles facing the rescue campaign would be overcome. He emphasized that these efforts are continuing through Damascus' contacts with the various Lebanese personalities concerned. For his part, Major General al-Khuli expressed optimism that more steps would be taken toward improvement [of the situation]. Despite the intensity and fervor of the contacts made by Damascus to restrain the mountain fighting, its position thus far has not gone beyond the use of expedients and persuasion to restore the relationship between all the parties represented in the Lebanese cabinet. Through talks in Geneva and Lausanne it assumed the task of participating positively in the rescue campaign by national reconciliation and by responsible dialogue.

Responsible Syrian sources expressed their total confidence in all the parties participating in the Karami government and, consequently, in the ability of this government to continue the rescue campaign and decide on what steps and measures to take in order to realize its goals of strengthening security, rebuilding institutions, and moving ahead toward the liberation of all Lebanese soil.

5214

CSO: 4404/656

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SYRIA'S AL-KASM IN ROMANIA--Last Tuesday Syrian Prime Minister Dr 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Kasm began an official visit to Romania as head of a delegation consisting of many ministers and important officials. AL-MUSTAQBAL has learned that the more important part of the mission of the delegation, which is to attend Romania's celebration of the 40th anniversary of its liberation from the fascists, concerns broad cooperation between the two countries in carrying out many Syrian projects, especially in the oil and phosphate sectors. Such cooperation requires a constant exchange of delegations at the highest levels because of its scope and ramifications. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 18 Sep 84 p 13] 5214

CSO: 4404/656

TURKISH REACTION TO APPROVAL OF 'ARMENIAN GENOCIDE' BILL

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 12 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey reacted with feelings of dismay and anger at the decision taken by the House of Representatives of the United States to declare 24 April as "Remembrance Day of Man's Inhumanity to Man and, in particular, of the Armenian Genocide."

According to the Resolution voted by the House of Representatives 24 April marks the first day the plan of the "Armenian Genocide" went into effect, as a result of which one and a half million Armenians perished.

In a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey considers the decision an unfortunate step that will pave the way for creating a climate favorable for terrorism and new violent crimes.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said in his statement of clarification: "Those who led by electoral interests and petty political considerations disregard their obligation to combat terrorism and adopt measures destined to encourage international terrorism, will have to carry the heavy responsibility of new, future victims.

Legislative institutions, instead of making decisions that encourage terrorism directed particularly at the Western world, must make every effort to prevent the creation of such inhuman barriers that poison international relations.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs added that the policy of determining the conduct of nations based on past events was not helpful in the task of promoting international relations, in particular when that is done by distorting history and by adopting false assertions.

The said Resolution of the House of Representatives about 24 April had been held up in the archives for a year and a half and now it has again been brought out for the purpose of winning Armenian votes in the forthcoming election. The communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that the imminent election has brought the irresponsibility of certain politicians to their climax.

GUNES regrets that not one of the 435 members of the House of Representatives had stood up to say "I am opposed to that decision." If just one man had objected, the Resolution would have been returned to the Commission. The firm working for the interests of Turkey had had news of it only 15 minutes before the voting and had been unable to undertake preventive action.

This decision taken by the House of Representatives will now be sent to the Senate and if its approved there, it will be sent to President Reagan for ratification.

12364

CSO: 4605/100

KHALID MUHYI-AL-DIN INTERVIEWED ON DOMESTIC, REGIONAL ISSUES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 69, 4 Aug 84 pp 32-33

[Interview with Khalid Muhyi-al-Din by Rashid Khashanah: "Khalid Muhyi-al-Din Discusses the Post-Election Period: 'Parliament Is not the Only Scene for Struggle; We Will Struggle Outside Parliament';" in Tunisia, date not specified]

[Text] After the elections campaign in Egypt wound down, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, leader of the Unionist Progressive National Coalition visited Tunisia to get some rest and also to work. It is known that Mr Muhyi-al-Din's coalition, the Grouping Party, did not win a seat in parliament because it did not get the percentage of votes required by the elections law, which is eight percent. Here is the text of the interview, which was conducted with Mr Muhyi-al-Din by our colleague Rashid Khashanah.

AL-TADAMUN visited Khalid Muhyi-al-Din while he was in Tunisia and asked him about the post-election period. The magazine also asked him about some of the Arab organizational and intellectual questions. Here is the text of the interview.

[Question] As the leader of an opposition party that did not win a seat in parliament, what do you think the parties that did not win seats in parliament in last May's elections will do?

[Answer] We will continue to defend our programs and to fight with the people for their causes. We will mobilize the people for a national and democratic struggle, and we will turn their causes into vital causes. We will enlist people in the street, and we will enlist our activists and our supporters to defend the gains that have been made and the hopes and objectives that are being sought. In other words, we will continue to fight [even though] our representatives will not be attending the sessions of parliament.

[Question] There are parties that align themselves with the left. In this regard they are close to the Grouping Party. What parties do you think are likely to be working with you?

[Answer] Now, after the elections, the opposition will have to devote itself to a team effort regardless of the differences [that existed before the elections]. If the opposition does not do that, the opposition within parliament will be weak and isolated. The Wafd Party will have to cooperate with other parties at

least on the matter of democracy. However, we do not know now the limits of that cooperation. It is known that there is a strong social polarization effort in Egypt that will show in the coming period the ability of the opposition to work as a team.

[Question] Initiatives and attempts to establish a Nasirist party have been witnessed recently in Egypt. This coincided with some disgruntlement among the ranks of the Nasirist faction in the Grouping Party. Some Nasirist figures, like Dr Yahya al-Jamal, left the party. Doesn't this phenomenon threaten the Grouping Party with failure?

[Answer] First of all, Yahya al-Jamal is not a Nasirist at all. Second, we will welcome any Nasirist party that is founded and defends a Nasirist program. We will work with that party and form an alliance with it. It is certain of course that many of our members would join such a party, but there will be others who would join our ranks. Now after the elections there is a rush of new people joining the party. Those people are coming to us as the Grouping Party, not as anything else. What is noteworthy is the fact that the Grouping Party came into being after the elections as "a Grouping Party;" before the elections it was a coalition of factions. In the recent elections the votes that were cast for the party were cast for the "Grouping Party" and not for the factions. Those who are joining us now are joining us as the Grouping Party. They are joining us because of the party's programs and the party's positions. The character of the party has become more prominent. Therefore, we are not worried about the emergence of any other power, whether it be Nasirist, communist or anything else. If a communist or a Nasirist party were to emerge on the scene as a legal person, the Grouping Party has already emerged on the scene and made its presence known.

[Question] The party has emerged as a legal person, but it has emerged as an organization that is founded on a pluralistic philosophy and on bringing together different factions that may be threatened.

[Answer] The Grouping Party is not based on pluralism.

[Question] I do not mean an organizational pluralism; I rather mean an intellectual pluralism.

[Answer] Intellectual pluralism, yes. There isn't a party in the world, including parties that are founded on an ideology, that do not have intellectual pluralism. There are major intellectual differences even within communist parties. The more reason such diversity would exist in the Grouping Party where the idea of a single iron-clad ideology is irrelevant. Therefore, we notice that the Grouping Party is a very successful political experiment because ideological differences do not prevent any member from fighting with others for the political questions [he believes in].

[Question] What are the rules that account for the success of this coalition formula?

[Answer] There are political imperatives in Egypt. First, there is no political power or political party that can singlehandedly solve the crises of Egypt and of Egyptian society. Therefore, cooperation is a political imperative. Second,

we are always looking for points of agreement before looking for points of difference. Third, it is the political battles, not the intellectual positions that bind people together. Intellectual positions thus serve political battles. When we ran in the elections and embarked upon different campaigns, Nasirists forgot they were Nasirists and communists forgot they were communists. These are what I call the imperatives that explain the success of the Grouping Party's experiment.

[Question] During the crisis of March 1954 you spearheaded the notion of defending the true sense of democracy, that is, having multiple parties. Now, 30 years later, how can Egypt be set on a course of political democracy?

[Answer] In 1954 I misunderstood the crisis. I had asked that the Revolution move closer to a democracy, that it establish its party and run in an election. The Revolution was widely popular. My colleagues, however, opposed that view, proposing to the Egyptian people a choice between the Revolution and democracy. Naturally, the Egyptian people chose the Revolution because they were not prepared to give up what they had gained. It is to that extent that the crisis of democracy in the July Revolution lingers and has not been solved; it is a crisis that will not be solved in any of the countries of the Third World. What we are saying is that as long as the ruling parties in the Arab world and in the Third World are involved with the machinery of the state, the idea of having multiple parties will remain a superficial process that complements a democratic setting. This is not, however, true democracy. True democracy may be found in India where the elections system and the machinery of the state are separate from the ruling party. Democracy exists in western Europe, and most regrettably, in Israel. This is a major issue, but people are not paying attention to it.

[Question] What in your opinion are the consequences of not having all of Egypt's political parties represented in parliament?

[Answer] This situation is very painful to us. Egypt had a historic opportunity to have its parliamentary assembly represent all the social and political relations that exist in the country. In our opinion, however, this new assembly does not reflect the truth about political and social forces in Egypt. To that effect, there are powerful forces on the Egyptian scene whose interests will not be represented in the new assembly. Accordingly, these forces will express themselves outside parliament and will apply their pressure from there as well. Accordingly also, political battles will not be restricted to parliament, which will become one of the scenes of political conflict, not the only scene. We had hoped that all the forces would be in parliament so that legitimate opposition could take place within parliament and not outside it.

[Question] Let's shift to another point that has to do with Mr Yasir 'Arafat's visit to Cairo and the relations that the PLO is beginning to establish with Egypt. There has been opposition to these relations within the organization and outside it. Some of those who opposed these relations saw them as some form of acquiescence with the Camp David policy. How does the Grouping Party view this rapprochement policy?

[Answer] We oppose such interpretations. Our party has always supported relations between Egyptians and Palestinians on a popular level and on an official level as well. We are saying that what is pertinent here is the PLO's insistence

on the resolutions of its legitimate organizations. We do not see that 'Arafat's communications with Mubarak have made the former accept anything about Camp David. Quite the contrary, we think that 'Arafat's communications with King Husayn have brought the latter to a position that calls for an international conference. If Palestinian-Syrian relations were better than they are now, it would have been possible to solicit Syria's support for such an international conference on the question of the Middle East. We would thus have organized pressure in favor of such a conference whether Israel accepts it or not. We do not see in the relationship between Egyptians and Palestinians any kind of retreat by Palestinian leaders from their positions. We are opposed to such presentations of matters. Quite the contrary, we think that when Egypt has ties with the Palestinians, its relations with Israel and with the United States are weakened. I am not apprehensive about the relationship between Egyptians and Palestinians.

[Question] Finally, how does the Grouping Party view the differences on the Arab scene and the settlement plans that are being proposed?

[Answer] I know there is a liberation organization and that it has its legitimate leaders. Until the Palestinians change those leaders, any other talk would be rejected. What do we have in front of us now on the scene? King Husayn has abandoned the Reagan plan. This is a positive development. What would be more dangerous than that now would be the success of the Ma'arakh [the Labor Party] in Israel's elections, bringing to power there people who "play politics." Members of that party make their actions appear to be flexible, and that could confuse and upset the Arab world. Hence comes the need for promptly adopting an international solution to the Palestinian question. This is a fundamental, imminent question. The alternative to that would be separate and unsuccessful settlement plans. I think the Ma'arakh Party will make no concessions; it will rather "play" politics.

8592

CSO: 4504/416

MINISTER DISCUSSES INFLATION, WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS, OTHER ISSUES

Cairo MAYU in Arabic 6 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview with Mustafa al-Sa'id, Minister of the Economy and Foreign Trade, by Mahmud al-Manawi: "Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id Tells MAYU, 'The Economic Policy Is One of Continuity Based on a Commitment to Implement the Plan and Reinforce the Liberalization of Production; the Next Stage Will Bring about More Control over Inflation Rates'"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The economic policy is foremost among the government's priorities and concerns. Discussions are being held about reinforcing and developing this policy in an effort to achieve continuity in the successful implementation of the 5-Year Plan for Economic Development, particularly with the onset of the third fiscal year, 1984-1985, for this plan.

The interview with Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of the economy and foreign trade, had to do with the questions that are being raised in Egypt's economy. The interview thus had its own significance in the stage during which the general budget for fiscal year 1984-1985 was being drafted. The implications of that budget on fiscal, monetary and trade policies will have their effect on all sectors of the national economy and on all the activities of citizens' daily lives.

In an exclusive interview with MAYU Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of the economy and foreign trade, responded to the discussions and questions of those engaged in economic activity and those who are affected by his decisions and his policies. Dr al-Sa'id used analysis and objective facts to clarify and elucidate the truth about the economic situation and about prospects for economic activity in the future so that continuity can be maintained through a commitment to the implementation of a 5-year plan and a commitment to development and to the support [of those efforts] by restricting the negative and reinforcing the positive.

What does Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id have to say to clarify the new policies which are to correct the problems of inflation and come up with practical solutions to the problem of unbalanced relations between wages and prices? This is a problem that bears upon the daily lives of Egyptians as producers and consumers. It is a problem that has its bearing on the outlook for economic and social development. What are the ideas that are set forth by the minister of the economy and foreign

trade to reinforce the investment activity of the private sector in particular and to solve investors' problems and deal with them in a radical fashion? This is something that has to be done along with the establishment of the Supreme Council for Investment, which is chaired by Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali, the prime minister. How does the banking industry with all its financial resources from the savings and deposits that are available to it--and these amount to about 16 billion pounds--help in reinforcing the trend toward investments in agricultural and industrial production?

The interview with Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id provided a full explanation of all the questions that were raised about banking and currency decrees that were issued early this year before the elections for the People's Assembly. Dr al-Sa'id's explanations defined the pros and cons of these decrees as these had become evident after a reasonable time had elapsed. This allowed the directions and results of these decrees to be determined through practice and application.

What does Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of the economy and foreign trade, say about what is being said in economic circles? How does he define the relative implications of economic reform policies? How does he define the rhythm of these policies and their movement in the future? This is the subject of MAYU's interview with the minister.

[Question] In light of the recent elections and the formation of a new government, are changes in economic policies to be expected? If there are to be changes, what will be their nature?

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id explained that the answer to this question had to be linked with a set of objective facts that stemmed from the material world.

[Answer] The first fact is that the elections brought the National Democratic Party [to power] and gave that party a large majority. This is the party that was in power before the elections. This fact essentially means that there will be a measure of continuity in the various areas of national activity, and economic activity will be no exception to that.

The second fact is that there is a continuing and abiding commitment to the implementation of the 5-Year Plan which was drafted in July 1982. That plan, which has a 5-year term, is starting its third year in July 1984. It existed before the elections and before the new cabinet was formed, and it continues to exist after the elections and after the formation of the new cabinet. This plan has not undergone major changes. Consequently, its continued existence means that existing economic policies as defined by the plan will continue. There are thus two principal factors influencing the nature of economic policies which have to be implemented after the elections and after the reorganization of the cabinet. The present cabinet, which was formed after the elections, is the cabinet of the National Party; it is like the cabinet that was in office before the elections. Similarly, the current plan is an existing plan, one that the previous cabinet did adhere to and one that the present cabinet is adhering to. The objectives of the plan still stand, and economic policies have to be implemented so that the objectives which are defined by the plan, either before the elections and the cabinet organization or after the elections and the cabinet organization, can be achieved.

[Question] What are the boundaries of change in the economic policy?

[Answer] The forementioned elements of continuity do not preclude the fact that there are reasons for making some changes in economic policies. However, these changes that are expected in economic policies are changes whose aim is to reinforce the objectives of the plan.

The changes include, for example:

1. Changes in policies to ensure that more resources are channeled into credit, and investments are channeled into the sectors of production such as industry and farming. There is no doubt that now, 2 years after implementing the plan, we are in a stage in which we can benefit from the banking industry in a broader and a more comprehensive manner, particularly after a greater measure of discipline was achieved in that industry during the past 2 years. What is required is more emphasis so that benefits can be derived from the power of the banking industry.

2. Serious attempts were made in the past 2 years to turn economic liberalization practices from practices with a few shortcomings in the consumption and importation of goods to practices for liberalizing production. Most economic policy measures and decrees that were made in the past 2 years were aimed at bringing about that change in the nature of liberalizing the economy. Now that these policies have succeeded in bringing about this change, the private sector has a better chance for moving ahead into the areas of production.

Let me emphasize that the aim of economic policies in the post-election period and after the organization of the new cabinet is to provide the private sector with more encouragement to turn toward the objectives that have been sought by economic policies. These policies want to turn liberalization practices into the real liberalization of production so that the objectives of the national plan can be served and more investments and more growth can be achieved.

3. The objectives of economic policies for the coming stage include emphasizing the social implications of fundamental questions which must be given more emphasis as well as a higher priority in economic policies.

Correcting the Structure of Wages and Prices for Citizens

[Question] Are there other vital economic issues that are priority issues in the context of the new economic policies for the next stage?

[Answer] There are some economic issues of importance that could not have been dealt with effectively [in the past] because dealing with them would have required some preliminary and basic measures.

For example, if we wanted to correct price structures and the relationship between prices and wages in the Egyptian economy--and this is one of the principal issues [we have to address]--such matters could not have been dealt with under the heavy burdens of inflation which exist in the national economy.

Therefore, the first step that has to be taken is that of reducing the inflationary pressures on the Egyptian economy as much as possible. This may be done by reducing the growth of the money supply and introducing a larger measure of stability in the rates of exchange. These are measures that should have been addressed before dealing effectively and extensively with the question of price structures and the relationship between prices and wages because dealing with these issues under the heavy pressures of inflation exacerbates problems and creates more difficulties in the face of attempts to find remedies.

The success of economic policies in bringing about a considerable reduction in the pressures of inflation would help us deal more efficiently with the question of prices and wages.

Therefore, economic policies during the next stage, after policies for reducing inflationary pressures succeeded in the past 2 years, will have to deal more with the questions of prices and the relationship between prices and wages. These are the changes that we can expect in the post-elections period and after the organization of the cabinet. Those policies that are aimed at the basic issues of reducing the permanent deficit in the general budget, reducing the deficit in the balance of payments, correcting the patterns of growth in favor of agricultural and industrial production, and making the effort to increase the volume of investments and the rates of growth are policies that were mentioned in the plan and that must be continued.

With the new elections, however, emphasis is being placed on certain issues. Emphasis is being placed on using the banks for development; on encouraging the private sector to turn toward production; and on basic questions such as those that have to do with prices, with price structures and with wages and their relationship [to other aspects of the economy]. These are the questions that come to have priority and that economic policies must address more efficiently.

The Banking Industry and Reinforcing Its Role To Serve Development

[Question] This exchange is making it clear that one of the changes and principal implications of the economic policy in the next stage will have to be linked with the banking industry and its role in development. What are the measures that have to be taken to achieve that objective?

[Answer] The view that the economic policy has of the banking industry is one that is quite positive, particularly since it believes that the banking industry in Egypt is relatively powerful when compared with other sectors of the economy. The banking industry is also a prosperous and a strong economic sector with regard to its financial resources and the savings it holds. It is also a strong and a prosperous sector with regard to the expertise and human capabilities that are employed in it. Therefore, by all standards Egypt's banking industry does have power, and inasmuch as it has such power, it may be said that it can make an effective contribution to attract more investments and bring about more economic development.

In order for the banking industry to realize what is being expected from it and achieve the objectives that have been set for it, it must first become regulated from within. As I mentioned more than once regulation is basically manifested in

regulating credit and then regulating foreign currency transactions. Such regulations are basically manifested in the need to have the banking industry subject to the control and supervision of the Central Bank so that implementation of the Central Bank's directions can be guaranteed.

During the past 2 years that objective was achieved to a large extent. Regulations were achieved, particularly credit regulations, and considerable progress was made in regulating foreign currency transactions. There is a determination about maintaining that regulatory course in the banking industry. This is essential and inescapable. Regardless of the resistance put up by pressure groups, by those who trade in currency and the small group that collaborates with them and by the corrupt people in the banks, and regardless of the lies and rumors they try to spread, the government is strong and is fighting corruption forcefully. That government came into power with the will of the people, and it has to work to realize the people's interests.

I am confident that the banking industry will ultimately go along with the resolutions of the Central Bank in this regard. However, all this is taking place so that the banking industry can be put on the right track: one that would help finance production projects and help the effort to provide more resources for investment projects.

This is what we are aiming for in the next stage: a strong and prosperous banking industry that is largely regulated, is moving in the right direction, and is receiving every encouragement from the Ministry of the Economy and from the Central Bank so it can achieve its objective, which is to attract more savings and to direct them into investments, particularly and basically, investments in production.

A strong banking industry can achieve that objective by following numerous methods. The Ministry of the Economy is quite prepared, with the understanding of the Central Bank and that of the Association of Banks, to look into the most feasible of these methods to achieve those objectives. There is a need for strengthening investment agencies in the banks and reconsidering the methods of extending credit in order to reinforce investment tendencies. At the Ministry of the Economy we are quite open to any measure or any method that can be agreed upon to achieve the objective that we are seeking, which is to use the power and the resources of the banking industry to serve development.

There are institutions that are required to reinforce the investment activities of banks during the next stage. Among these institutions are large consulting firms that would carry out the task of promoting and studying different projects. These consulting firms are to be financed by the banks.

There is also a need for more linkage between the banking industry, the money market organization and the investment organization so that integration can be achieved among these three organizations and a strong climate for investments created. Such a climate would advance projects that would achieve the objectives of development. Much will be accomplished if these three organizations--the money market, the investment authority and the banking industry--together with the various consulting firms that can come up with feasibility studies and with projects, were to cooperate in the manner that is being expected and sought--a manner we are determined to achieve.

Control by the Central Bank and Regulating the Banking Industry

[Question] How do you see the role of the Central Bank in the next stage as well as its control over the banking industry? Can it guarantee that the corruption and the excesses that occurred in the previous period will not recur?

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id explained that the fact that a new law for the banking industry was issued early this year had given the Central Bank the necessary authority to exercise its supervision and its control. This is a matter that is accepted in all countries of the world, socialist or capitalist.

[Answer] Quite the contrary central banks in capitalist countries exercise more control than they do in socialist countries because in socialist countries central planning basically achieves the purpose of control. There is also no difference between an advanced country and a backward country. A central bank must have the authority to monitor and oversee the banking industry. This is simply due to the fact that banks create money by extending credit. The creation of money is a sovereign right that states have. Accordingly, a state cannot give up this important and grave sovereign right to another organization, another bank or any other agency unless it can monitor that agency completely. This is a normal matter that all the countries of the world accept, as I mentioned. I believe that if Egypt's central bank law were compared with other laws in other capitalist countries and in developing countries, it will be regarded as a fair law as far as the penalties it imposes on the banking industry are concerned, if it deviates from or violates the decrees of the central bank.

Trading in Currency and Rates of Exchange

[Question] There are numerous questions that have to do with regulating the rates of currency exchange and trade. These questions became more acute when information about a black market currency salesman was made public. According to the investigations of the socialist prosecutor, the volume of that salesman's business amounted to 2 billion pounds a year. How can the recurrence of such a situation be prevented in the future?

[Answer] All the excesses and improper practices in the money market and in the banking industry are gone forever. They cannot recur in the present stage or at a future stage. All the excesses that are being investigated at the present time took place in the past before the policy of planning was adopted. That policy went into effect with the implementation of the 5-Year Development Plan on the 1st of July 1982. These excesses also took place at a time when the Central Bank's monitoring powers over the banking industry were weak due to the shortcomings of some laws. The present period, however, is not and will not allow for the recurrence of such excesses. I assure you that the manner in which currency was being traded during the past period and the phenomenon of a small group of merchants controlling the foreign money market has almost come to an end. Actually, this kind of trade cannot prosper unless it is financed by the banking industry and receives favorable credit terms from it. With the increased regulations that we are seeking in the banking industry, I believe that conditions will be completely different from what they were in the past. The process of having banks finance trading in currency has stopped, and any such attempt by banks to finance trade in foreign currency will not be overlooked. The new Central Bank Law guarantees that these excesses will not recur, and it gives the Central Bank serious monitoring powers over all the units of the banking industry.

POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS DISCUSS POOR ATTENDANCE AT SEMINARS

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 236, 18-24 Aug 84 pp 21-22

[Article by Mahmud Sadiq: "Opposition Subsides, Public Disappears as Apathy Afflicts Political Parties"]

[Text] Khalid Muhyi-al-Din says, "The accord that exists in the Grouping Party is not found in other parties."

The seminars of Egypt's political parties, like actors or singers without an audience, are sparsely attended. The few people who do attend these seminars listen absentmindedly to the words spoken by the panelists at these seminars. Because "a seminar" necessarily implies the presence of two parties, a speaker and an audience, the phenomenon gave us pause, and we began looking into its causes. Why is attendance at party seminars low? Is this to be taken as evidence that these parties are not popular? What then is the use of holding these seminars if this is the status of these political parties?

Ibrahim Shukri, president of the Socialist Labor Party, which is the party that holds the most of these seminars, defined their objective. He said, "The seminars we hold convey to party members the ideas and positions of the party on a variety of popular issues. It is through these seminars that opinions are exchanged, and we can thus reach a position that no one would object to. When we thought about setting up these weekly seminars, we were not starting a new practice in partisan activities. Discussing matters and conferring about them are practices that are widely known. They are steps that must take place within all parties so that the final picture would be clear to everyone."

[Question] Are all those who come to the seminars members of the party?

[Answer] Of course not. But most of the people who attend the seminars come to find out about the party's position on one of the issues that concern them. We do not require that people who attend the seminars be members of the party. Our doors are open to all people, and we are prepared to discuss matters with people of all trends who come to the seminars so we can convince them of our point of view.

[Question] But don't you agree with me that after having the experience of having political parties for 7 years, the number of people who attend these seminars is small?

[Answer] There is a difference between the weekly seminar that the party holds to discuss a specific topic and the conferences it holds to increase its popularity. It is natural that only those who are interested in the subject that is to be discussed would come to the weekly seminar. The number of these people will certainly be less than the number of people who attend the party's popular conferences.

Our Seminars Are Successful

The New Wafd Party is considered one of the youngest parties to appear on Egypt's scene of political parties, but it is the most active party. Therefore, its seminars feature prominently in the effort to find out how useful these seminars are. We asked Justice Mumtaz Nassar, leader of the Wafd opposition in Egypt's parliament, "Why did you decide to hold weekly seminars at the party's offices?"

He said, "When we thought about holding such weekly seminars, we did so to comply with the wishes of a large number of party members who wanted to hold these seminars to talk about popular issues that concern the party. They wanted to find out what the party's elected leaders thought about these issues. Therefore, we decided that we would have two seminars: one would be at the party's office in al-Jizah, and the other would be in Alexandria because many members of the party are in Alexandria during the summer."

[Question] Do you believe that these seminars will increase party membership?

[Answer] The seminars may be a factor in attracting new members to the party, but they are not the primary or the only factor. There are different ways of persuading people to join the party. In general, people who decide to join a party do so on the basis of the party's public positions on various issues. I believe that our clear and unequivocal positions are the primary factor behind the party's growing popularity.

[Question] Did the party's seminars succeed in achieving their objectives?

[Answer] Within the boundaries of what we had in mind when we first started holding these seminars, I can assure you that they have been successful. However, attendance at these seminars is not the measure of their success. Their success is rather measured by the effect they have on those who do attend, even if the number of attendants were small. If most of those attending the seminar leave feeling convinced by the party's various positions and by the questions that were raised during the course of the seminar, I would consider that seminar successful.

[Question] Do you intend to hold more seminars in the various other governorates such as Alexandria and al-Jizah?

[Answer] In some governorates the nature of the party's activities dictates that such seminars be held. In other governorates, the nature of the party spirit is such that party members must always have harmonious relations. Thus, holding such seminars there would not be necessary.

[Question] I heard that you are in the process of setting up an institute

similar to the National Party's Leadership Training Institute. Why are you doing this? What is the difference between these seminars and the proposed institute?

[Answer] The purpose of the party's seminars is to discuss ideas and questions that are of concern to any party member. However, the institute that the party will establish will train party cadres who can carry out the party's activities after becoming fully convinced of those principles and programs. Therefore, the difference between the two is substantial. The seminars are held to provide a forum for the exchange of opinions, and the institute will be established to train and educate party members.

Engaging in Dialogue, not Theorizing

We left Justice Mumtaz Nassar, and headed toward the offices of the Unionist Grouping Party, the first party to think of holding these seminars.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the secretary general of the party said, "The purpose of these seminars is not to recruit new members for the party, nor to give lessons or stern lectures from a podium, as some of the other parties do. Our objective is to try to link the broad base of the party with the chosen leaders of the party. We are trying to maintain a dialogue between the party's members and their leaders so as to increase the ties between them and enhance the understanding within the party which is being sought. We have succeeded in doing this, and I believe that the understanding which exists in the Grouping Party, an understanding that brings together similar tendencies of one thought striving for common goals, does not exist in the other parties."

[Question] But in all the seminars that we attended we found only a small number of people engaging the leaders in discussion. We found that they had a limited period of time for such a discussion. The rest of the time allotted to the seminar was allocated to those on the platform.

[Answer] I can't imagine having an open discussion from the first moment of the seminar till it ends. What happens is that we have to have at the outset a quick review of the party's activities and its position on the questions that are the topic of the discussion. This is undoubtedly the role of those on the platform. After that review is completed, the discussion begins and an exchange of points of view takes place.

[Question] If these seminars are successful, why doesn't attendance grow every time?

[Answer] Don't forget that we went through a period when a person who walked into the offices of the party had to look behind him to know whether or not he was being followed. There were also many times when the offices of the party were searched. These factors and others as well have undoubtedly had an effect on the number of people who attend the seminars. These days, however, the numbers are growing. In fact, some of the people who come to the seminars are not members of the party. They come to find out what the party's general position is and then they come to talk with party leaders about a subject that concerns them.

[Question] Don't these seminars provide a measure of a party's popularity and mass appeal?

[Answer] Of course not. All the members of the party do not have to attend the party's weekly seminar. If they did, these seminars would have to be held in spacious places and not inside the offices of the party. Those who attend the seminars are those who wish to discuss the question that is the topic of the seminar. The interests and the problems of each party member differ from one person to another.

The Liberals and the Nation

Although the previous three parties do not require that people attending their weekly seminars be members of the party, the situation is different with the fourth party. This is the Liberal Party where meetings are held periodically for members of the party in one of the meeting rooms of the Socialist Union, formerly the only political organization. In this meeting room party members from all the governorates sit with their leaders and present their problems behind closed doors. No one [outside the party] is allowed to enter the room and attend such a meeting.

Mustafa Kamil Murad, president of the party said, "The purpose of such meetings is to find out the problems that party representatives in the governorates and provinces face. These meetings are also held to find out what these party representatives want from the central leaders in Cairo. Consequently, it would be undesirable to have others attend such meetings where candor and clarity are the foundation of the meeting."

[Question] Does the party hold other seminars that ordinary members of the party can attend?

[Answer] There were opportunities for holding such seminars during the past elections. These were held every Wednesday.

Al-Ummah Party was the last party to decide to hold such seminars. According to one party official, the reason for holding these seminars was to create material for the party's newspaper, which is published twice a month. The seminars are also being held in an attempt to create an activity for the party, particularly since it is not an effective player on the scene of the political party movement in Egypt. Therefore, if the number of people attending the seminars of al-Ummah Party is no more than 20, then the situation with regard to the remaining opposition parties is not to be regarded as curious.

No Seminars for the National Party

The National Party, which has a numerical majority in Egypt's parliament, does not hold such seminars although it has established "party schools" to train the party's young people. The first such school was the Institute of National Studies which used to be a socialist institute under the totalitarian regime and the term of the Socialist Union. During its first period, from 1979, this institute was headed by former minister Mansur Hasan. He was succeeded by Dr 'Adil 'Izz, former dean of the College of Commerce at Cairo University. This

institute was established to train party cadres and to prepare them for assuming positions of leadership in the party's organizations. These people would then be nominated as candidates for parliament, for the Advisory Council, for local councils and also for trade union organizations.

The second institute is the Leadership Training Institute which was established in al-Salam [Peace] City. It is being supervised by Dr 'Abd-al-Ahad Jamal al-Din, president of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sports and the party's youth secretary. This institute is responsible for training the party's young people and preparing them to assume positions in the party.

In addition to these two institutes there were the Wednesday seminars which were set up in the past in Cairo by former minister of state, Muhammad Rashwan. Their purpose was to hold meetings in the capital between party leaders, ministers and members of the Political Office and the secretariat general. At these meetings where political developments and domestic conditions were discussed, the main emphasis was on university students in Cairo. This was done so that university educated new members of the party can be found to oppose the extremist Marxist and religious trends that existed in student unions.

But that seminar ceased to exist after the minister was removed from his position in the last government last January. The seminars of the National Party thus came to an end.

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REVIVAL OF AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY DEMANDED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 5 Sep 84 p 4

[Interview with Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, by Muhammad Barakat: "What Happened During the Trip by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs to China and Japan?"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Arab Egypt is the connecting link between Africa and Asia.

The time has come to revive the Afro-Asian solidarity movement.

Egypt belongs to the heartland of the Arab world, and it is the real connecting link between the two continents of Africa and Asia. For this reason, destiny has chosen Egypt to shoulder a special responsibility. This explains the role that Egypt has played in supporting the liberation movements in Africa and Asia and it also explains why Egypt has worked on consolidating the Afro-Asian movement ever since its beginning in 1955.

These ideas were uttered by Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, after his return from a long trip in Asia--a trip which was preceded by other trips made to Africa. He asserts that the time has come to revive the concepts of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and to revive the role that they have been meant to play in the two continents. Our interview with Dr Ghali went as follows:

[Question] You have made numerous trips to the various nations of the African continent, and recently you made a trip to the Far East where you visited the two Asian giants, China and Japan. Is there some particular reason for the interest which you have been showing in these two mighty continents?

[Answer] Egypt is a part of the Arab world which, in turn, both regionally and geographically constitutes a connecting bridge between the two continents of Africa and Asia. Due to its location in the center of the Arab world--that is, between the Arab East and the Arab West--Egypt constitutes the real connecting link between the continent of Africa and the continent of Asia.

Because of this, Egypt occupies a unique and unrivaled position among all of the nations of these two continents. In fact, Egypt is the only nation which is both an African and an Asian nation at the same time. It is as if destiny had meant for Egypt to enjoy a rich and multiple cultural identity and, at the same time, to take on a special mission in terms of its responsibility and what it has to give.

Egypt has been aware of this fact ever since the dawn of history. During all of the historical epochs of its development, Egypt has been culturally linked to both of these continents whose territory it occupies. This has been true whether it has been a matter of considerations of national security, embodied by Egypt's concern regarding its southern hinterland across the African continent all the way down to the source of the Nile or a matter of moving in a northeasterly direction across the Sinai Desert in Asia, or a matter of responding to the requirements of first Christian and then Islamic spiritual activity--and all that has been imposed upon Egypt by the developments of circumstances in terms of the historic roles which Egypt has played in the arena of world events.

Whenever Egypt has had a cultural mission to perform outside its borders, whether during its ancient, medieval, or modern history, the natural domain where this mission has been undertaken has been both to the south of it in Africa and to the north[east] of it in Asia--at the same time. In fact, even during the periods of time when Egypt was weak and in a state of decline as a result of the pressure of foreign interventions, Egypt provided a splendid and unprecedented service in the realm of linking the two continents of Africa and Asia. This fact has been embodied in the digging of the Suez Canal, which constituted, in its day, a new triumph in the field of communications, transport, and international trade.

[Question] How about contemporary history?

[Answer] After Egypt attained its independence, it was only a normal thing for Egypt to once again, with a great deal of positive interest, resume its role as a bridge and connecting link between the peoples of Africa and Asia, it was only normal for the July 1952 Revolution in Egypt to emerge as a beacon of hope for these peoples, and it was only natural for Egypt to provide aid to all of those who were fighting for their freedom and independence in every nation of Africa and Asia during the stage of history when imperialism was crumbling and declining.

Cairo has constituted the meeting place for individuals from African and Asian nations who have come to Cairo from all different places in order to study at its universities. Furthermore, these groups of people from the nations of the Near and Far East and from the various countries of Africa and Asia who have lived in Egypt have felt at home in Egypt. In addition to this, Cairo has been a place of refuge for all heroes and freedom-fighters participating in the national liberation movements of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and in Egypt these people have received a great welcome and received great support.

Egypt played a prominent role in the efforts to consolidate the Afro-Asian movement when, during the mid-fifties, its initial foundations were being laid as a movement calling for solidarity between the two continents in order that these two continents, which were caused by circumstances to be backward, correct their situation and take their place among the international community.

Origins of the Movement

[Question] Could you briefly shed some light on the origins of this Afro-Asian movement and the phases which it has passed through from the time of its establishment till the present day?

[Answer] The Afro-Asian movement actually arose as a result of the interaction of a number of trends and movements which preceded its emergence. The interaction of these trends and movements played a prominent part in giving rise to the Afro-Asian movement. The most important of these trends and movements were the movement calling for Asian unity, the movement calling for Islamic unity, the movement calling for Arab unity, and finally the movement calling for African unity. During the eclipse of British, French, and Dutch colonialism and the decline of imperialism in general due to the pressures of the popular awakening which arose and grew stronger right after World War II, a new trend or movement appeared which one could call the movement of militant nationalism and the movement which strove toward liberation, progress, equality, and social change. Because of the victory of the socialist camp under the leadership of Moscow and then the emergence of Communist China in 1949, socialist ideas became overwhelmingly popular and the mottoes of socialism became the basic intellectual components of the large-scale nationalist movement which came to embrace the two continents of Africa and Asia during the fifties and sixties of this century.

The interaction of all of these trends and movements then resulted in the gradual consolidation of the features of Afro-Asian solidarity. In April of 1954 a congress was held in Colombo which included the heads of the governments of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, and the congress was devoted to attempting to bring about an end to the war which, at that time, was going on in Indochina between the French colonial forces and the national forces which were demanding independence. This congress made a study of the great political issues which later on constituted the principles of the doctrine of Afro-Asian solidarity. One could say that the congress in Colombo was what established the initial foundation for Afro-Asian solidarity being transformed from being merely a political bloc of nations into being a political ideology. In September of 1954 the prime minister of Indonesia called for the holding of an Afro-Asian conference which would include the group of African and Asian nations working together in the UN. In his proposal he specified the fact that his basic objective was to achieve political and economic cooperation, a spirit of friendship, and peaceful coexistence for the sake of the common good of the nations of Africa and Asia. This represented the beginning of the consolidation of the roots of Afro-Asian solidarity and the transformation of this limited-scale temporary political alliance or maneuver into a broad-based permanent political ideology.

[Question] What are the five principles, the 30th anniversary of the declaration of which was recently celebrated by China?

[Answer] The five principles, which are known in the history of international relations as the principles of Panch Shila and which were included in the agreement ratified on 29 April 1954 between China and India concerning Tibet, have been very important in the history of the Asian movement, and especially in the history of Afro-Asian solidarity in general. These principles were the following--mutual respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the nations, nonaggression and nonintervention in the internal affairs of other nations, equality of the nations, the mutual exchange of benefits among the nations, and finally peaceful coexistence among the nations.

There is no doubt that these principles helped to consolidate the concept of the movement of Asian unity and helped to pave the way for the Bandung conference which was held later on and which is considered to be one of the most prominent events concerning the Afro-Asian movement. In fact, the Bandung conference is not considered to have been an unusual phenomenon in the Afro-Asian world, nor is it considered to have been an isolated occurrence in the realm of relations between the nations of the two mighty continents of Africa and Asia. It merely constituted the consolidation of long-standing formative elements which grew, as we have already said, during the first half of this century. The Bandung conference was also the natural result of political, economic, and social factors which had emerged long before and which had then developed and intermeshed in order to result in this great event which took place on 18 April 1955.

The Bandung Conference

[Question] Right now it is only a few months until the 30th anniversary of the famous and historic Bandung conference. How do you assess the course that the Afro-Asian solidarity movement has taken during the last three decades?

[Answer] The holding of the Bandung conference, which included 29 nations from both Africa and Asia, was not something which really represented an end in itself. What it represented was the first stage of a general movement which had the objective of involving all of the nations of Africa and Asia, promoting the liberation of all of the nations of these two continents, working toward strengthening the ties between them, and consolidating the bonds of cooperation between them for both their own good and for the good of the whole world.

The nations of this area had been passive and dependent for so long during their history, and after they had recently gained their independence, they decided to take their destiny into their own hands. There arose in them the desire and determination to gain their share of the progress of mankind and to promote world peace.

The resolutions passed by the conference, on the whole, expressed the belief of the nations of Africa and Asia in the importance of becoming closer to

each other, engaging in mutual cooperation, and achieving solidarity with the other African [and Asian] nations.

In the political realm, the conference concerned itself with human rights, self-determination, the causes of nonindependent nations, and racial segregation and discrimination. The nations of Africa and Asia which were independent at the time were unanimous in their desire to combat colonialism. They also condemned the use of nuclear weapons and called for having them banned by means of effective international inspection, and they declared themselves in favor of stopping the arms race.

In the economic realm, the topics dealt with were those concerning cooperation between the nations of Africa and Asia and the other nations of the world. The conference demanded that aid be dispensed by means of the UN and other international organizations. The conference also called for the stabilization of the prices of manufactured goods, the development of production of raw materials, the demonstration of interest in the utilization of nuclear power for peaceful purposes, and the mutual exchange of information and opinions dealing with matters concerning the nations of Africa and Asia.

In the cultural realm, the nations of Africa and Asia declared their determination to develop cultural cooperation and revive the ties and connections which had bound them together in previous times--and which were then torn asunder by outside foreign factors. In this regard, it was decided to adopt the principle of cultural exchange and cooperation, adhering to agreements, and undertaking both national and collective efforts to promote a cultural revival and cultural development.

[Question] What are the aspects and forms which this movement has taken on after the Bandung conference?

[Answer] The Bandung conference was followed by a series of other conferences, including the conferences of solidarity between the peoples of Africa and Asia which were held in Cairo in December of 1957. After these conferences it was decided to establish the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, with its headquarters being in Cairo. The first secretary of this organization was Yusuf al-Siba'i, and he held this post until the day that he was assassinated. Economic conferences were also held under the aegis of this movement, and the most important of these were the conferences held in Cairo in December of 1958 and May of 1960. Another important conference of this type was the conference of economic development which was held in Cairo in July of 1962.

Perhaps the thing which is considered to be the most important achievement of the Afro-Asian movement is the fact that it contributed toward the formation of the OAU in 1963--an organization which became a fortress of coherence and solidarity for the continent of Africa which was being overwhelmed by the factors of foreign intervention and violent international polarization. Furthermore, the Afro-Asian movement was what produced and consolidated the policy of nonalignment--a policy which in fact grew out of the ideology of Afro-Asian solidarity. The nonaligned movement is one which

will continue to play an important part in efforts to achieve the establishment of peace and security in the world. The nonaligned movement has played--and will continue to play in the future--a role in solving some of the critical international issues such as the issue of disarmament and the issue of the economic backwardness which all of the nations of the Third World suffer from.

On the basis of the aforementioned one can say that the Afro-Asian movement is a large-scale movement which has come to embrace two of the largest continents in the world which account for more than half of the world's total population. This movement has, as a basis, four main economic and political doctrines, and they are the following--combatting imperialism, positive neutralism and nonalignment, economic development, and combatting racial discrimination. These four doctrines, as they interact with each other, have the common objective of striving to establish world peace and international security. These four foundations will remain effective and vital ones, in spite of what might be said and thought by certain parties who believe that changes in circumstances and new developments in the political arena of today have made the concept of the Afro-Asian movement obsolete in that it no longer has a place in the arena of international relations at the present time.

However, I believe that the words spoken by the president of Indonesia during his opening address at the Bandung conference still apply today and still give the concept of the Afro-Asian movement a content which is vital and positive. What he said was that the most noble aim of mankind is to free man from the fear, human degradation, and poverty which shackle him.

Challenges of the Modern Age

[Question] Judging by what you are saying, you have a great deal of enthusiasm for the idea and concept of Afro-Asian solidarity. How do you visualize the role that could be played by Egypt, via the Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity movement, to confront the challenges of the modern age?

[Answer] During my recent trip to both China and Japan, I took the opportunity of the meetings which I had to hold consultations and to exchange opinions with leaders in Tokyo and Peking concerning the importance and vital necessity of striving to revive the concepts of the Afro-Asian movement and reviving the role which it was given the responsibility of performing in the areas of maintaining the independence of these nations, consolidating their position of nonalignment, giving an impetus to the process of economic development of these nations, and putting an end to the racial discrimination which, unfortunately, still exists and still constitutes a black page in the book of mankind during the modern age. These are the four doctrinal foundations which have constituted the basis of the movement for the last three decades. I believe that the opportunity still exists--and that it is still urgently necessary--for us to channel all of our efforts into striving to meet the challenges which we are still faced with in these four particular areas.

There is no dispute about the fact that the political conditions prevalent in the nations of Africa and Asia before their independence still essentially exist in the form that they existed then. Backwardness still prevails in the poorer half of the globe. This backwardness today is perhaps felt more indirectly than previously, but nevertheless it still exists. Economic exploitation of the nations of the Third World is still going on, even during the phase of the liquidation of political imperialism. And this economic exploitation, as time goes by, is even increasing, in spite of the fact that this political imperialism is being liquidated. In fact, the intensity of the international division of labor is steadily increasing and there is a steady decline in the terms of international exchange involving manufactured goods and raw materials.

Economic aid is something which has newly come onto the scene. The nations which provide this aid, however, are trying hard to create an appropriate means of making this aid serve their own interests. We admit that this aid does provide some benefit, but this benefit is very small and is incapable of being really effective. Since the dialogue between the North and the South was one which ended up being so paralyzed, we can only hope now that the nations of Africa and Asia will succeed in unifying their ranks and asserting their rights in order to confront the wealthy and strong nations. It is obvious that a revival of the spirit of the concepts of Afro-Asian solidarity will serve to help clarify objectives, overcome weaknesses, and achieve unity within large and comprehensive blocs of nations such as the Group of 77 and other blocs of nations in the South or Third World.

It is also obvious to everyone that the nonaligned movement is suffering from weakness, fragmentation, and a loss of the spirit of initiative and action, the initial constructive pillars of which have already been anchored. We are also clearly seeing the feverish initiatives and continual plots being hatched by the powerful nations in order that the cold war be resumed and in order to continue the policy of military alliances and the establishment of foreign bases.

The only refuge for us is to once again firmly adhere to the approach of neutralism both as a policy and as a matter of principle. The reason for this is that neutralism is something which leads to expanding the area in the world where peace prevails and leads to a decrease in tension and friction. The result then is an effort to establish peace. In fact, neutralism also helps the nations which have adopted it as a policy to undertake the role of mediator and conciliator between the great powers in order that a balance of power be achieved for the sake of world peace.

Economic Development

It would not be repetitious to say that economic development and the battle against backwardness constitute one of the constant objectives of the Afro-Asian policy and approach. Breaking the vicious circle of backwardness can only be achieved by following the strategy of self-reliance, large-scale regional cooperation, economic integration, striving toward achieving a new international division of labor, and guaranteeing that fair and stable prices

be obtained for the raw materials produced by the nations of the South and the Third World, and this objective must also be achieved by means of obtaining and acquiring large-scale aid--after it has been put under international control--in order that this aid help these nations to overcome their backwardness. Even the simplest principles of logic tell us that the quickest means of achieving all of these objectives is to follow a policy which pursues alliance, rapprochement, and cooperation. The requirement of building and establishing a new international economic order is not something which can be achieved on the basis of kindness and generosity on the part of those who have an interest in maintaining the present international economic order. It can only be achieved if a united position is adopted. Of course, we should make every effort to make sure that the mighty nation of Japan remains within the framework of the Afro-Asian movement and we should strive to convince Japan to participate effectively in this movement. Furthermore, cooperation on the part of the mighty nation of China which is promoting the mottoes of self-reliance and having economic aid not be tied to the strings of political hegemony is another positive feature which will help to guarantee the success of the movement and provide it with stamina and power. When I was in Tokyo and Peking, I presented my concept of trilateral cooperation involving Japan and China on the one hand, the nations of Africa on the other hand, and Egypt as the bridge between these two groups. Egypt is capable of playing a role which would be beneficial both to the African and Asian parties--in order that the greatest possible benefit be achieved from such cooperation in the realm of planned development and cooperation between the nations of Africa and Asia.

Finally, the fight to eliminate racism and racial discrimination is one which most deeply involves the feelings of the peoples of Africa and Asia. The reason for this is that it involves human rights. Our peoples have tasted a great deal of the pain of racial discrimination which has been dealt out to us by the white colonial powers. Efforts on the part of the nations of Africa and Asia to achieve equality with the nations in the other parts of the world--efforts which are based on their belief in racial equality--primarily constitute an effort to regain their dignity and eliminate this plague which has stung mankind's conscience during the twentieth century and has threatened the values of all of our modern civilization.

China and Japan

[Question] How did the leaders in both China and Japan respond to your concept of the necessity of regaining the spirit of Bandung and bringing about a revival of the Afro-Asian movement?

[Answer] I explained my concept to them and had exchanges of opinions with the leaders whom I had the opportunity to meet during my recent visit to China and Japan, as I have already mentioned. I sensed a readiness to respond to my idea and to study it as an initial step toward the taking of practical measures and implementing steps in the realm of searching for the best means and most successful approaches for putting this idea into practice. Perhaps the 30th anniversary of the historic Bandung conference, the proposal to work toward holding a large-scale celebration of this anniversary, and expansion of

the media campaign accompanying this celebration so that it includes all the nations of Africa and Asia will provide a suitable opportunity to create the appropriate psychological atmosphere and regain and revive the spirit of Bandung which characterized one of the most glorious periods of the modern history of our peoples. This was a period during which the attainment of freedom was mixed with the hope for a better future which was seen as being possible to achieve given the desire for change and the desire to attain progress for the coming generations.

The Afro-Asian movement still possesses the capability of formulating a new ideology based on the experience already had by the nations of Africa and Asia. Such an ideology could constitute the intellectual and practical tool to serve these peoples who aspire to continue with their struggle to achieve freedom, dignity, and prosperity.

9468

CSO: 4504/454

DEBT RESCHEDULING, CHANGE IN POLICY DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 pp 53-54

[Article: "Morocco Refuses To Mortgage Its Bank to Foreign Banks"]

[Text] Negotiations between Morocco and the creditor banks concerning the rescheduling of \$530 million worth of loans which came due a year ago are still faltering. After 10 months of negotiations the two sides differ over a central point: Should the Central Bank of Morocco participate in signing the rescheduling agreements or guarantee the implementation of these agreements?

The ten banks which are leading negotiations on the side of the creditors, including Chase Manhattan and National de Paris, believe that the Central Bank should sign the agreements on the basis of its role in foreign commercial operations for Morocco. Whereas Moroccan authorities believe that the Central Bank of Morocco has no relation with the subject and that any signature or guarantee would mean that Morocco would be dependent upon the foreign banks.

The bankers offered a suggestion, which they considered to be a compromise, which provides that the Bank of Morocco sign a "letter of understanding" in which it would engage to supply the hard currency funds to allow the Moroccan government and private and public institutions to pay the debts which are due. However, the suggestion was vehemently rejected by the Moroccan Ministry of Finance and by the Central Bank.

Morocco has been moving slowly, while the international banks wish to arrive at an agreement as quickly as possible. The reasons for the strong Moroccan position are related firstly to the support it receives from international circles, whether from Western countries, international financial organizations or from the International Monetary Fund which recently agreed to a project in which Morocco would withdraw 300 million special drawing right units to support the general balance of payments and its general fiscal balance. Furthermore the International Monetary Fund warned Morocco about embroiling the Central Bank in the dangers of foreign loans.

Morocco's position is further strengthened because at the end of last year Morocco managed to reschedule debts to governments and international banks amounting to \$1.15 billion without the participation of the Central Bank of Morocco. So why do these banks want to drag the Bank of Morocco into this matter today?

Despite this difference, confidence in Morocco has not been shaken. Morocco recently obtained credit from France for 1.78 billion francs, as well as a loan to buy three phosphate transport ships, and also credits from American banks and the government for the purchase of grains.

The Central Bank thought it proper to warn the Moroccan government several years ago of the danger of over-dependence upon foreign loans. Conditions have shown the wisdom of these warnings. Beyond that, even if the Bank of Morocco wanted to guarantee the rescheduling of the loans, this is not permitted by its legal authority.

As for the Moroccan government it believes that the American side in the bank negotiating delegation is the one insisting upon guarantees from the Central Bank of Morocco. However the French, who are owed the most money, do not require guarantees. It appears that the Moroccan government is confident that in the end it will win the battle for the simple reason that the administration of President Ronald Reagan is building large radio broadcast facilities in Tangiers and also just recently obtained an agreement to use its bases. Therefore the administration will apply pressure to the American banks to ease the situation rather than to complicate it.

During the last crisis, however, the Moroccan government appears to have realized the danger of depending upon foreign banks. Therefore it established a new policy which the Minister of Finance, 'Abdellatif Jouahri, indicated to be concentrated upon the following points:

1. Opening up to the Arab World and concentrating on attracting public and private Arab investments which would be spent on Moroccan development projects or any other projects. The Moroccan minister says that these investments will be financing Moroccan development whether directly or indirectly and will not burden the Moroccan government with any requirements such as the ones associated with foreign loans.
2. Increase in Moroccan exports to the Arab World. In the opinion of the Moroccan official Arab markets still have the momentum to be able to absorb these exports if objective conditions prevail, such as the presence of export financing and insuring instruments. In actuality the Arab Monetary Fund has agreed to back Arab exports financially, whereas Arab Capital Insurance Organization agreed to insure the exports. It remains for the Moroccans to know how enter these markets with sufficient momentum to realize this objective. However the Moroccan officials do not believe that this objective will be realized in the short term.

3. If there is no other choice than to borrow, then the Moroccan government will depend more upon Arab loans which are less expensive and longer term at the expense of dependence upon western banks. In this respect it is necessary to mention that a number of international commercial banks object to lending to Morocco while on the other hand a number of Western and Arab governments and financial institutions wish to lend it money.

4. Attract more Arab tourists to Morocco, especially from the area of the Gulf, and it appears that matters are headed in that direction.

It is expected that Morocco will increase its activity in this area in the near future due to the fact that it recently agreed with investors from the Emirates to realize a Moroccan-Emirate investment company and to begin operations.

It is worth noting that Morocco is doing what Tunis has done since 1980 and that is to be less dependent upon foreign loans and more and more dependent upon Arab investments.

Morocco has good investment opportunities, and has a substantial basic infrastructure. Morocco has also great possibilities for tourism as well as industry and agriculture, and also has a very skilled work force. However, what Arab investors complain about is the limited freedom of choice of projects and the difficulty of moving capital out of the country, as well as the bureaucracy. However Moroccan officials point to the new investment law which gives investors greater freedom whether in choosing their investment or transferring profits and foreign currency.

The reasons for the crisis which Morocco is suffering from right now are certainly well known, including the drought which has diminished the harvests and caused Morocco to have to import large amounts of food during the last few years. Also there is the world recession which has diminished the amount of phosphate exports, which is Morocco's major source of foreign currency and also the Saharan War, which has greatly depleted Morocco's capabilities. It should be mentioned that the Saharan War is in its 8th year.

12390

CSO: 4504/428

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION FINDS ROOTS IN SHI'ISM

Link Between Religion, State

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 5, Dec 83 pp 23-25

[Text] The Islamic religious movement is not the offspring of the past few years. Rather, the roots which must be searched for assuredly lie in an ancient time and in the geopolitical area in which it is located, which is a historic arena of violent struggle among secular and ideological creeds, currents and policies that have come together on a terrain of diverse, interconnected relations, with the Iranian and Turkish peoples to its north and east and the African, Indian, Pakistani and other peoples to its south, in the port of Basra, along with the deep-rooted Arab relations of course.

Geography is useful here, as is history, and the two are interconnected, not haphazardly, neither predominating over the other. Therefore, there are conditions and justifications for current Iraqi religious history to have a presence in modern political life, in view of these two essential factors.

The history of the Iraqi religious opposition movement is one side of the history in Iraq of Shiism, the prominent, fundamental political opposition party extending throughout the Umayyad and Abbasid eras to the present time.

Religion's modern contribution leads us to the 1920 revolution against British colonialism and the rallying of the people around the ideologies of religious figures, who played a great role in this revolution and became wholly involved in its events from the theoretical and practical standpoints.

Shaykh al-Shirazi issued his famous ruling on the need for "holy war" against English colonialism, and Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id al-Habubi (the poet, religious jurist and theorist) and Shaykh Mahdi al-Khalis also participated in a similar manner, to an extent where we can easily observe that these sheikhs were not just spiritual fathers but were the true basic symbols of the current religious movement.

Religious participation in politics proceeds without factional or doctrinal considerations from a simple theory, which is the belief in the extremely

close bond between religion and the state and the need to apply religious law in government. The Moslem Brothers in Iraq also proceed from this point, since they in turn have helped apply this theory in the political sense by forming a political organization which followed the footsteps of Hasan al-Banna and in the past had such symbols and relatively influential figures as Muhammad Mahmud al-Sawwaf (who is now working in Saudi Arabia as a consultant) and 'Abd-al-Karim al-Bayjan (law professor and lawyer). However, this organization's activity has in practice been suspended since the 1968 coup in Iraq, although it still can find people who embrace its orientation, if secretly and in total obscurity.

This theory is shared by 'Aziz al-Badri, who founded the Islamic Liberation Party as a prominent splitoff from the Moslem Brothers in the mid-fifties; this split was factional and formalistic by nature because al-Badri belonged to the Sunni sect and had strong personal ties with figures in Shiism, especially al-Hakim al-Ab and al-Shirazi in the venerable city of al-Najaf. His political-religious thinking brought him to death by torture after the 1968 coup.

The Basic Roots of the Modern Phenomenon

'Aziz al-Badri and his party are perhaps the link between the past and recent histories of modern manifestations of such other well-known elements as the Iranian revolution that have arisen recently. The insistence on the relationship between the Islamic religion and the state, and the need to "normalize" the government in accordance with the points of Islamic law, are the foundation stone of the whole religious phenomenon. Therein lies the insistence by Shiite religious figures and religious persons on participating in political life, indeed changing it all in favor of their social, economic and political thinking. Here is where the bloody relationship between them and the existing regime in Iraq arises. This point needs further explanation. The religious movements follow the style of deep-rooted ideological confrontation without concessions or tactics in dealing with a regime which they consider a direct rival, and they believe that changing the existing regime requires a high level of holy war and that this will produce positive results (the Islamic state in the world, and paradise in the hereafter), while the regime believes that these movements are their most implacable rivals because it separates religion and the state on the one hand and has unquestionable knowledge of the recent political history of these movements, their figures and the nature of the thinking that moves them on the other. The two parties believe that they are rivals in intense conflict; this is an objective, realistic belief from which the struggle has arisen, and still is growing.

The declared positions of the figures of religion (Shiism basically) concerning numerous political positions taken by the regime that exists now in Iraq explain the nature of the bloody struggle between them: the message all the parties to the religious opposition are conveying is that there is no separation between politics and religion, while the regime's premise is that there is a sharp separation between politics and religion.

The violent nature of the struggle between the religious movement and the regime in Iraq is caused by this. The authorities have sensed the magnitude and force of the movement, since President Saddam Husayn, when asked what was meant by "parties working for outside forces which managed to influence some toiling circles that had been specially favored by the revolution," stated "I mean specifically the Party of the Call, which has managed to win over some elements which we consider ought to be part of the revolution."

"Some elements," when stated in the words of the regime's greatest symbol, means some persons' power to influence the society and their threat to the government.

What are the most prominent features of the current religious opposition in Iraq, then?

The Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq

The council came into being in November 1982 and includes most of the religious forces which will be cited shortly, in an attempt to form a bloc of all the religious forces which have a history in a single coordinated, comprehensive context. It was established not by individual initiative but rather by collective effort. In the words of the newspaper LIWA' AL-SADR, the council represents "the united will of fighting Islamic forces." It includes independent religious scholars who have customarily been designated "the Group of Fighting Scholars," in addition to other personalities and symbols. The council struggles with its abovementioned power on the basis of a program which relies on the need to bring down the "apostate regime," as it puts it, and establish the Islamic government: "The conditions to which the regime has deteriorated have caused the international influence of colonialism to think seriously of proposing an alternative to protect its interests. Our Moslem people in Iraq, headed by the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, reject the game of alternatives which the apostate West is preparing for, in form and substance, and are content only with the Islamic alternative."

The council issues a weekly newspaper under the title AL-SHAHADAH on "the unity of the media" which it owns, and its official spokesman is Mr Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, who uses Tehran as headquarters for his activities and meetings. Among its most conspicuous other figures are Mr Sadr-al-Din al-Qabani, Shaykh al-Nasiri and Mr Mahmud al-Hashimi.

The council also maintains such units and branches as Military Unity, Information Unity, the Forces of the Islamic Mobilization of the Iraqi Masses and a number of organizations which owe allegiance to the council, such as the Islamic Federation of Iraqi Students, the Iraqi Islamic Medical Association, the Islamic Society of Skilled Persons, the League of Moslem Fighting Women in Iraq and so forth.

The Party of the Call to Islam -- the Iraq Region

The roots of the Party of the Call go back to the mid-fifties, when it was established in connection and in relationship with the al-Fatimi Party.

Although this party observes 1957 as the year of its establishment, the party, in actuality, was founded in 1962, under the leadership of Imam Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, its most prominent symbol and thinker, who was executed, with his sister Bint al-Huda, in 1979.

The Party of the Call to Islam has been considered one of the strongest of religious parties, especially after the occurrence of the Iranian revolution, and among them it is considered one of the most organized and most intensively antagonistic to the authorities. That has cost it a high price in human terms.

The party held its third session (the Conference of the Awaited al-Mahdi) in Tehran in May 1983, issuing a concluding statement in which it emphasized "the application of lofty Islamic law, as a system of governance and program of state," and the point that "the Islamic government is a new stage in the history of mankind." In the statement, it also described the nature of the struggle between itself and the authorities and the history of this struggle, asserting that "all the methods of oppression and terrorism" have not weakened the "missionary youth" and that "the fears of the enemies of Islam have been doubled by the great Islamic victory of the revolution of the Moslem Iranian people under the command of the great venerable Imam Khomeyni, which conversely set off an impulse of revolutionary impetus in the spirits of the people working on the Iraqi stage, especially since they started preparing to rise up against the regime in Baghdad. The Call to Islam, as it has waged its struggle with the authorities in the context of the political stage, has been prepared to sacrifice lives, money, effort and time as required to advance along a thorny path."

Among the most prominent symbols of the party were Shaykh 'Arif al-Basri (who was executed early on), Shaykh Muhammad Baqir al-Nasiri, a prominent official, and Muhammad Mahdi al-Asfi (the official spokesman of the party). It issues its weekly paper AL-JIHAD through the al-Jihad Press and Publishing Organization in Tehran.

The Islamic Action Organization -- Iraq

The organization began as an individual initiative on the religious stage a short time after the 1968 coup, but it assumed clearly concrete form in the beginning of 1970 when Hasan al-Shirazi founded it (he was assassinated on the Beirut-Damascus highway at the beginning of the Iranian revolutionary era). It is now headed by the brothers Muhammad Taqi al-Mudarrasi and Hadi al-Mudarrasi. The organization follows the Shiite religious thinking noted above, with a note of emphasis on the military side and the use of a more specific political expression: "The military resistance which the Islamic Action Organization has embraced proceeds basically as a means for realizing our sacred Islamic goals, by relying on God and hidden aid, unleashing the giant powers of our masses to create the proper channel to influence the leadership of the resistance and unleashing the Islamic revolution of the people, although there are parties which have not concurred with us over this theory and method of resolution." In its statement dated 3 August 1983, the organization also declared clear positions regarding the new conditions on the stage and stressed that it and the Islamic movement in general were not committed to pay the authorities' bills in the long run.

It criticized the authorities' aid in the form of assistance and declared its rejection of all border agreements with the Saudi, Kuwaiti, Jordanian and Turkish neighbors.

It issues a paper titled AL-'AMAL AL-ISLAMI (an Islamic weekly) and has taken Tehran as headquarters for its media and political activity and its press.

The Movement of Iraqi Fighters

This is the movement which Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Hakim heads and which is very closely involved from the formal and practical standpoints with the Society of Fighting Religious Scholars headed by Mr Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, to the point where some people consider them the same.

The movement was established in 1982 after the increasing migration from Iraq to Iran and the trouble to which the religious figures in al-Najaf and Karbala' (the two holy cities as far as Shiites in the world in general are concerned) were subjected. The movement is prominently represented in the Supreme Council and it concentrates its activity on its military, political and occupational boards and organizations.

The movement considers that "the Iraqi cause today represents the arena of the true bitter struggle with the forces of world arrogance, far from the balances of the international struggle; in its decisions, it is not subject to the will of world arrogance." It also considers that "the members of the Supreme Council and all Islamic movements and personalities supporting it bear the prime responsibility of thwarting this conspiracy and emerging safely from it by increasing the activities of the council, assuming them properly in leading the masses, descending to struggle in the political and military arena and truly committing themselves to the directives of the imam of the nation and his advice."

It issues a weekly newspaper, LIWA' AL-SADR, whose editor in chief is Ibrahim Ahmad, and it has taken Tehran as headquarters for itself and its paper.

Organizations, Movements, Personalities

The description of the main body of the religious movement can be completed only with a substantial group of organizations and other movements which all are in agreement over the essential outlines and fail to concur only on the finest details of jurisprudence or politics, including the movement of "the Soldiers of the Imam," which is headed by Dr Sami al-Badri, a movement which split off from the Party of the Call when al-Badri had a dispute with Shaykh al-Basri then fled to Kuwait and founded his movement there.

Similar to this, also, are small groups known as "the Soldiers of God," "the Party of God," "the Soldiers of Islam" and "the Ideologues." They all are in agreement in supporting the notion of Islamic revolution in Iraq and supporting Emam Khomeyni and the Iranian revolution, and they issue publications and printed materials on an irregular basis.

There also is the movement of the Islamic Conquest, which Shaykh al-Hatami founded and heads. He is a Sunnite religious figure who differs with the regime and believes in the need to establish an Islamic government in Iraq. There also is the Movement of the Islamic Revolution, headed by Muhammad Mahdi al-Khalisi, which is represented by his brother Jawad al-Khalisi in the Supreme Council.

None of these organizations and movements constitute a party in the well-known sense of the world; rather, they are groups which meet around a "theorizer," jurist or prominent religious figure who is their source and from whom and for whom they obtain their strength or weakness, in accordance with his strength or weakness. This is where the major, exceptional importance of Shiite religious figures such as Shaykh Husayn al-Sadr, who is expected to declare a new organization soon, lies in the movement of religious opposition.

A Position on Alliances and Rifts

Alliances which are permitted in the mind of the Iraqi religious opposition are alliances within the opposition, not with other parties outside it. This is perhaps the general rule which governs the orientations of the main forces active in it. In general, it directs harsh criticism at the Iraqi Communist movement because "it formed ranks with the authorities against it in a previous period" and because of ideological antagonisms, of course. The Party of the Call, for example, calls the Iranian communists agents -- a comprehensive view by which Communists in general are characterized by Islamic movements. Therefore, all attempts toward a specific "front" or "alliance" between them and nationalist, democratic and Marxist forces (the invitation made by the Iraqi Communist Party, for instance) have been futile. They work alone and in their own Islamic front, although that front is characterized by obvious currents and rifts which, according to secular Iraqi sources, are believed to be the result of their condition in Iran and the influence to which they are subjected by the currents of domestic Iranian politics, on the one hand, and, on the other, their deterioration as fronts, the formation of blocs in Iraqi regions around one group or symbol or another, and also the scope for individual thinking and the relative liberalism of Shiite jurisprudence and its emphasis on the need for "sources of knowledge" and on the individual's freedom to choose these sources of reference.

Background of Islamic Call

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 13, 20 Feb 84 pp 16-19

[Text] This 11 February, the trial of 21 persons belonging to the Party of the Call to Islam on the charge of involvement in the bombings that occurred last 12 December, which affected some American, French and Kuwaiti institutions in the capital of Kuwait, began in Kuwait.

The Party of the Call is considered one of the strongest religious opposition parties in Iraq. It had previously led a number of massive military operations against organizations belonging to the Iraqi government, including breaking into and blowing up the Iraqi embassy in Beirut by a car

booby-trapped with explosive containers. The operation resulted in the total destruction of the embassy building. Dozens of members of the Iraqi diplomatic corps in Lebanon were victims of the operation, in addition to a large number of employees and people working in the embassy and some Lebanese citizens who had been visiting it.

The Party of the Call has also launched a number of operations inside Iraq, including unsuccessful attempts to assassinate the president of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, and some prominent figures in power and the ruling Ba'th Party.

In general, the Iraqi authorities in effect now consider the Party of the Call enemy number one, since this party managed to attract broad segments of religious young Iraqis as it grew and flourished in the shelter of the source of religious knowledge and the scholarly community.

AL-NASHRAH, proceeding from the premise of this party's unusual significance in opposition political activity in Iraq and its role in the Arab Gulf region, has considered it suitable to devote an extensive file to it.

The file on the Party of the Call essentially consists of a study of its relationship to the source of religious knowledge and the scholarly community, on grounds that the Party of the Call is in effect the "legitimate offspring" of these two religious institutions. It also includes a reading of its organizational concepts and political positions, in the light of the decrees of conferences, in particular its recent third conference (the Conference of the Awaited al-Mahdi).

Here we are anxious to state the following:

1. These files were prepared by the al-Jihad Organization which belongs to the party and by which the monthly AL-JIHAD and the weekly AL-JIHAD are issued.
2. The political terminology and the phrases cited in these studies are the language and expressions of the Party of the Call itself, and we have not interfered with them except when it was necessary to do so for journalistic or legal considerations or for requirements of brevity.
3. We have eliminated many descriptive expressions which the party gives to religious sources and leaders, of course where that does not detract from the status of these religious and spiritual figures.
4. The objective in our publishing this file is to introduce this party, in view of the broad commotion which its recent operations in Kuwait have stirred up and on the occasion of the trials being held there against the people carrying out these operations.

The Party of the Call to Islam was born in the embrace of the Scholarly University in the holy al-Najaf. A group of Islamic jurists, scholars and thinkers headed by the late source of knowledge Mr Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr founded and led it. This organized Islamic activity enjoyed the attention, care and sympathy of prominent scholars and jurists, for instance the late

jurist Shaykh Murtada Al Yasin, the late source of religious knowledge Mr Muhsin al-Hakim, Ayatollah al-Sayyid Isma'il al-Sadr and other jurists and scholars in the milieu of the scholarly community.

This Islamic movement came into being in a growing environment of secularism. This party was to a large degree enriched by jurists, scholars, students of religious sciences and givers of sermons from pulpits. This element was the basic factor in the ability of the Party of the Call to Islam to grow and act in a manner which attracted broad groups from various classes. It managed to confront the current which was dominant among certain religious scholars who preached alienation from politics and political organization and did not see a possibility of establishing an Islamic state before the emergence of the dawn of the awaited al-Mahdi. The scholars and students of religious science constitute one of the bases of the structure of the party and occupy various positions in the party's organizational structure, in its leadership, conference and various organizational and specialized committees, especially intellectual and cultural fields in the party. The second chapter of the party's bylaws stipulates the formation of the council of religious jurists.

A publication titled "On Title and Organizational Structure," issued in 1960, stated that the character of religious law which made organizational discipline mandatory as an aspect of the call arises:

1. From the covenant of Islamic law or the oath the member makes with himself, and so forth.
2. From the dependence on organized collective action and so on in attaining the sacred Islamic goals in life.
3. From the jurists' exercise of their legitimate trusteeship within the obligation of obeying the organization.

The party was founded on firm links with the source of religious knowledge and working religious scholars. Therefore we find the party devoting its utmost attention and efforts to the issue of preparing scholars and specialists through the study of the sciences of Islamic law. Indeed, more than that, as is apparent in its publications, instructions and bylaws, the party has embraced the concern to develop the scholarly community, support it with students and encourage the people pursuing the call to study and specialize in Islamic sciences to reach the level of intellectual authenticity in science and general culture and the level of individual judgment in jurisprudence and the sciences of legislation. The party has embraced a matter in which it impresses on people making the call the need to join the scholarly community and to urge well educated young people who are open in mind to join scholarly communities.

This approach has produced a generation of proselytizing scholars which is active in the ranks of the movement and bears the responsibility of its vanguards with respect to proselytization and holy war.

The party's efforts have not stopped at this point. Rather, it has urged its personnel to join the Faculty of Islamic Law in the noble al-Najaf and the Faculty of the Principles of Religion in Baghdad, and the two faculties have become filled with proselytizers and partisans of the call to Islam. A generation has graduated which combines Islamic scholarship with other vital areas of culture and specialization.

This has all taken place with purposeful attention and planning on the part of the party in order to prepare personnel who are versed in Islamic culture and sciences.

The Ba'th Party has realized that and has deliberately dominated these two faculties in order to rid them of proselytizers and other Islamic intellectuals. Indeed, the sole purpose of the decree nationalizing education was to take control of these two faculties and Islamic studies with a committed missionaristic orientation.

One result of the guidelines which the Party of the Call to Islam issued to its proselytizers in 1960 was that young people who had graduated from the science faculties, givers of sermons and students in government schools should set forth and proceeded to the holy al-Najaf, to drink deeply of the learning in its university and work vigilantly to master the provisions and sciences of Islamic law. The results of that were:

1. The expansion of the scope of affiliation with the scholarly community and its emergence from its traditional sphere, which was almost hereditary and more or less restricted to families and groups with a scholarly past.
2. The growth of an intellectual resurgence, political awareness and modern cultural activity which provided a motive force for student circles, scholars, givers of sermons, poets and men of talents in the context of the scholarly community and brought them into the process of Islamic resurgence and change. The history of thought, literature and culture in Iraq testifies to that; a person studying Islamic intellectual and literary activity in the stage preceding the birth of the Party of the Call to Islam and the stage following its birth will find an obvious qualitative difference in culture and activity in that interval.

Elements of Trust in the Call

Trust and sympathy between scholars and sources of knowledge and the Party of the Call to Islam, which started to grow and constantly strike roots, resulted from a number of factors, of which the most important were:

1. The clarity of the character of the call to Islam to the sources of knowledge and scholars who had lived in its midst and had become familiar with its figures, proselytizers, ideas and culture.
2. Its establishment by a group of jurists and scholars as well as the presence of jurists, scholars and students of science in the leadership of the movement and its ranks and in positions of responsibility and organization within it.

3. Heroic stands, sacrifice and devotion in defense of Islam, its scholars and its sacred attributes.

As we talk about the relationship between the Party of the Call to Islam and the jurists, scholars and scholarly community, we must draw attention to an important matter, which is that al-Sadr considered that he should devote himself full time to affairs of the sources of knowledge and cease working among the ranks of the organization, proceeding to furnish the movement with his ideas, guidance and leadership and surround it with his paternal spiritual guidance. The late al-Hajj 'Abd-al-Sahib Dukhayl, Abu 'Isam, was the member who provided the link between him and the leadership of the movement and informed the organization that he would play the role of the source of knowledge and the tasks of the scholarly community, and that the proselytizers who were active in the ranks of the organization had to pursue their movement role in order that the two processes would advance together and flow into a single channel. Such a meeting and intermixture were actually achieved through three basic points:

1. Interaction with the source of knowledge of the late master, assuming the status of the backbone of its structure. The proselytizing scholars were the basic foundation of the late man's source of knowledge, and most of his aides were proselytizers or people who were influenced by the movement of the call.

One should bear in mind that these aides numbered 80 at the time and that they could have amounted to more than 80 percent of al-Sadr's total aides in Iraq.

2. The intellectual help and adoption of the late man's ideas and the determination to teach them in party circles, such as the book on our economy, our philosophy, the Islamic school and the general foundations which he wrote out for the movement, and preliminary publications in his noble handwriting.

In addition there were the oral guidance and direction which he offered to the movement through meetings which took place between him and officials concerned in the movement.

3. The unity of positions and unity of action assumed concrete form the day the source of knowledge, al-Sadr, declared his position. Before he had declared his position, contact and coordination took place between him and the call and between him and his aides, most of whom were proselytizers, as we pointed out above. He led a decisive bloody confrontation against the Ba'th Party in 1979 when the firm solidarity between the source of knowledge and the Party of the Call to Islam became apparent.

Among the members making up the link between the community and the party were Mr Hasan Shibr and the late al-Sa'id al-Hajj Jawad al-Zubaydi, who supplied al-Sadr with information and recommendations issued by the organization and conveyed Mr al-Sadr's directives and recommendations to the organization. When it was not possible to make contact and al-Sadr was put under house arrest, contact was organized via a woman, the wife of one of the

proselytizers. Mrs Aminah al-Sadr would contact Bint al-Huda, the sister of al-Sadr, being the connecting link with al-Sadr.

Attempts To Isolate the Call from the Source of Religious Knowledge

After the Iraqi authorities had confirmed that the Party of the Call had been born and grown in the embrace of the scholarly community and that it enjoyed the support and care of the source of religious knowledge, it exerted its efforts and concentrated its activities on isolating the movement and depriving it of direction, severing the bonds between it and the source of religious knowledge and scholarly community, hinting that the call was active outside the context of the source of religious knowledge and in confrontation with it. In 1962 circles in power sent the scholar Husayn al-Safi to perform this task. He went to the source of religious knowledge the late Ayatollah al-Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim and proceeded to express his interest in the community and his anxiety on its account over the presence of a political party by name of the Party of the Call to Islam which was led by Mr Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr. In the course of his statement he proceeded to assert that the scholarly community was in danger and that his anxiety and concern had prompted him to present this issue to the source of religious knowledge. However, this plan failed totally.

The source of religious learning felt that a plan was being hatched to eliminate Mr al-Sadr, the Party of the Call to Islam and the Islamic cause, and Ayatollah al-Sayyid al-Hakim sent a messenger to Mr Ayatollah al-Sadr informing him of the episode and stressing to him the need for him to be a father overseeing the movement from outside, alongside the other sources. That would be better than for him to be inside it, after his presence in the movement had been discovered. The difficult conditions and circumstances which surrounded the source from hostile circles or from circles in the community which did not find Islamic political action palatable continued.

When the gentleman was informed of this news he found himself in an embarrassing situation. He manifested severe suffering and distress at the hostile position Hussayn al-Safi had taken and found himself faced with an attempt and a design on the part of hostile circles. He met with one of the leadership personnel and handed him a message of two pages in which he described the situation and informed them that he intended to withdraw organizationally from the movement, although he would continue to guide it, look after it and act as the father of the movement from outside. In fact, he insisted on this relationship, then expressed his psychological situation by saying "As I wrote the letter my hand was shaking. I spent last night sweating, thinking over this position and how difficult this position is for me." He then assigned the martyred Abu 'Isam to perform the task of the medium of contact and coordination between him and the movement.

Aspects of the Relationship between the Call and the Source of Knowledge

The ideological and working relationship between the Party of the Call to Islam and the source of religious knowledge was embodied not just in reality but also in the minds of the Ba'thists themselves.

Ayatollah al-Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim represented the source of knowledge's protection of the Islamic movement, which was embodied in the Call to Islam. A conversation went on between some Ba'thists in the leadership, when they first assumed power, and some figures concerning the source of religious knowledge and the Islamic movement. The Ba'thist official stressed "We know about the presence of an organized Islamic movement, but we cannot confront it and strike out at it now." When he was asked, "Why can't you confront it now?" he said "Al-Sayyid al-Hakim is still around, and it is not in our power to confront them." That became wholly clear in following up on the course of events in the confrontation with the Ba'thists. They started to attack the source of learning, al-Sayyid al-Hakim, and worked to weaken him, preparatory to striking out at the Islamic movement. Out of fear of a reaction from the people, their plot against al-Sayyid al-Hakim foundered, and when the confrontation intensified the Party of the Call's thinking on establishing a unified position with the source of religious knowledge remained constant.

Contact was actually established with al-Sayyid al-Hakim and the situation was discussed with him. People concurred in the opinion that al-Sayyid al-Hakim should go to Baghdad, that the mass movement and organization of delegates should be initiated, that the movement around the source of knowledge should become intensified and that the confrontation should start. Al-Sayyid al-Hakim went to Baghdad and settled down there, and the people's movement began. The authorities started to sense serious danger and launched an attack on the source of knowledge to weaken his position and diminish his role. When the Party of the Call saw that the situation was fraught with danger, a Party of the Call delegation at a vanguard leadership level set out to visit al-Sayyid al-Hakim and discuss the situation with him, and it declared the readiness of the Party of the Call to Islam to bear the responsibility of confronting and standing up to the authorities as a front line in the movement of the source of knowledge. That was on 9 June 1969.

The delegation included Abu Riyadh Shibr, Mr Fakhri-al-Din al-Shushtari, the late Abu 'Isam and another member. Attending the meeting was Mr Mahdi al-Hakim. The delegation proposed to the source of religious knowledge Ayatollah al-Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim that the party get a mass movement going, close down the markets, hold demonstrations and protests and escalate the stand vis-a-vis the Ba'th Party.

The delegation also presented al-Sayyid al-Hakim with its expectation that the Ba'th Party perhaps indeed intended to carry out a hostile action against the source of religious knowledge and therefore that to take the initiative toward such actions would put pressure on the authorities.

After hearing the delegation's recommendation, he answered them by stating, in these words, "I do not want this. This party (that is, the Party of the Call to Islam) should be undercover." He pointed clearly to his concern over the party, should it be unearthed and struck, and pointed out that he did not consider that the necessary resources for confrontation were present.

These positions clearly and obviously express the interaction in the field and the organic connection between the source of religious knowledge and the

Party of the Call to Islam. Indeed, they express the source of knowledge's concern for the Party of the Call to Islam, his anxiety over it and his extreme concern for its safety and continued movement, as was clear from the statement by al-Sayyid Hakim and from al-Sadr's positions.

The Islamic Movement was not violently hit or confronted seriously until after his death. The source of religious knowledge and the scholarly community in al-Najaf and Qom sided with the Party of the Call to Islam the day the first group of proselytizers, Shaykh 'Arif al-Basri, Mr 'Imad-al-Din al-Tabrizi, Mr 'Izz-al-Din al-Qabanji, Mr Husayn Julukhan and Mr Nuri Tu'mah were martyred in 1974.

This incident had a distressing effect on the spirits of the sources of knowledge and professors in the scholarly community and the scholars in the holy al-Najaf, Qom, Karbala' and Mashhad.

Most conspicuous among these positions were those of Emam Khomeyni, Mr al-Sadr, the scholarly communities, the sources of knowledge and the professors in the scholarly communities in Iran and al-Najaf. The newspaper AL-JIHAD recounted Emam Khomeyni's position and his defense of these martyrs in the words of Hojjat-al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr Taqi al-Tabrizi.

Emam Khomeyni took a position which should be recorded in his favor. After he learned what the rulers of Baghdad intended to do, he at once sent a telegram to Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr telling him in effect "You should not be like Pahlavi, who passed the law executing learned persons. Don't you want to get close to the prophet of God? These persons are the children of the prophet of God."

The scholarly communities in Iran took a similar position as well, and when the death sentence was handed down against the first group the scholarly communities in Mashhad, Qom and other areas of Iran suspended studies and declared their protest and sympathy with them. Studies were also suspended again the day they learned the news of the execution of this group; they declared their condemnation and abhorrence of this grave incident and the blatant defiance of the feelings and values of the nation.

A Statement and Interpretation

While we are talking about this subject, we must refer to an issue that came up in the course of activity and progress, which many people have sought to use as a weapon with which to fight the Party of the Call and the people working in it.

The issue is that when the pressure and attacks against the party and the proselytizers intensified in 1970, Mr al-Sadr became concerned over the scholarly community, which was embodied in his person, especially since the security agencies did not differentiate between knowledgeable scholars and the scholars' organized body, in view of the actual intermixing and interaction between the two bodies which we have discussed, especially the scholars and students connected to the source of knowledge al-Sadr, to the point where the security agencies counted al-Sadr's deputies and detained them on the charge of belonging to the party.

Therefore, al-Sadr took recourse to a defensive position in order to defend the community from conflict and attempts to eliminate it, while not violating the rule of dissimulating and warding off the harm that had become inevitable. He presented an opinion, minatory in nature, to his students, the gist of which was that religious science students' enrollment in the ranks of the Islamic organization should be suspended, although this view was not tantamount to a ruling or judgment. He also informed one of the jurists who had been al-Sadr's prominent students of this. If he had considered that the organizational activity which he had established, whose bases he had set out, and to which he had given the name the Party of the Call to Islam should not be allowed, the ruling would have included all Moslems and would not have concerned the students of religious sciences to the exclusion of others. The rulings of Islamic law are uniform, and their application to all people who have been given assignments is also uniform in degree.

Indeed, the purpose was that the scholars who were proceeding with their scholarly studies and whom Mr al-Sadr was anxious to turn into pillars of the community and professors in it should not be subjected to prison, arrest, killing and dispossession, the structure of the scholarly community damaged and its role weakened, especially since it was in the course of being built and of emerging and was still a youthful organism which could not tolerate blows, and the role of the scholars had not yet become fully focussed. The gentleman thus wanted to avoid giving the agencies of the authorities a pretext which they would use as a cause for attacking the scholarly community.

When al-Sadr considered that this position would not be of use in diverting the attention of the authorities' agencies and that the front of struggle and opposition and the conflict had become ferocious, he changed his view when he saw that the basis of the view he had declared had become invalid. Some of his prominent students and one of his deputies went to him and asked him about the opinion he had issued concerning banning students at a specific level from movement organization. Al-Sadr answered them "I have changed my mind" and "I have abandoned this opinion." The situation did not stop at that point. His view appeared clearly in a stipulation in a letter which he wrote to one of his students, stating, "I counsel you to pursue the call; it is the hope of the nation." This position of his was strengthened by a third position so that matters would not be obscure. He called in one scholar about 2 months after the issuance of this opinion and asked him to travel on the pilgrimage to inform a scholar who was a leader of the Party of the Call that this opinion "Is not against the call, but is aimed at preserving that part of the call which remains."

Al-Sadr considered that this position was a defensive means for providing cover and avoiding creating a justification for an attack on the scholarly community and fighting scholars.

When some people exploited al-Sadr's position of defending the Call to Islam and tried to suppress it on grounds that al-Sadr had tried to conceal it from within, and great uproar and misunderstanding arose, the Hujjat-al-Islam wal-Muslimin 'Arif al-Sabri got in touch with a scholar who was one of Mr al-Sadr's deputies and asked him to appear as a representative before

al-Sadr and convey to him the nature of the atmosphere which some people were trying to fabricate in opposition to the call, exploiting the opinion and position he had taken. He also contacted al-Sa'id al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Yasiri and emphasized the same request to him. This deputy went to visit al-Sadr and explained the situation to him.

Al-Sayyid al-Yasiri stated in his report "I responded to the request, went to visit Mr al-Sadr in the holy al-Najaf and started to talk with him about his fatherly character and his concern for the devout group which had started to yield fruit, which, if it indicates anything, indicates your sincerity and the truth of your intention toward God the unique, who has no consorts." This and similar things took place between us. The martyred Mr al-Sadr spoke at length about the cause of Islam and the awareness, devotion, joining of efforts and cooperation among all benevolent forces which it required. He said, 'I am in agreement with you, and could never abandon you, and I am sorry about what has been stated about me by some people.' I then told him, 'You are more knowledgeable than we are about the role of the source of knowledge and the patience, boldness, strength of will and wise, knowing administration which he must possess. You are the one who taught us that, and we learned these lessons from you.' His eminence replied, 'I am in agreement with you and will not abandon you for a moment. However, I have considered at the present time that the Islamic movement will perform its desired role only if there is support for it from the source of knowledge. In addition, the source of knowledge cannot do without the Islamic movement. Each of them supports the other. From now on I consider that to assume the position of source of knowledge is a duty in Islamic law and is desired, and that it is desired of you that you support this motion and the Islamic movement also proceeds in accordance with its messengers.' Finally he said, 'I am on your side; the source of knowledge cannot do without the movement and cannot perform his mission without the movement. In addition, the movement is in need of someone to support it and defend it, and lawyers and defenders can only be persons different from those who are accused or litigants. The independence of the source of knowledge, today, is of benefit to the Islamic movement, and careful coordination must take place between the source of knowledge and the movement, so that we can deprive these oppressors of their chance.'"

On the anniversary of the Islamic revolution in Iran, President Saddam Husayn sent Shaykh 'Isa al-Khaqani, a sheikh supporting the Ba'th Party, to meet with Mr al-Sadr, who at that time was under house arrest in his home. There was no one with them except a companion of al-Sadr's. 'Isa al-Khaqani started the conversation and stated that he had been sent by the president and had three requests which had to be carried out; otherwise the authorities would arrest al-Sadr and kill him. He proceeded to present the three demands. These were:

1. A declaration of noninvolvement in the great incidents of [the month of] Rajab.
2. A declaration of noninvolvement with the Party of the Call to Islam, ruling that its activity and membership in it were to be prohibited and renouncing the ruling that the Ba'th Party was to be denounced and membership in it was to be prohibited.

3. A declaration of noninvolvement in the Islamic revolution in Iran and that there was no connection linking him with it and with its leader Emam Khomeyni.

Al-Sadr rejected all these demands and emphasized his support for the Islamic revolution and its leader, support for the call and its holy war, and the connection with and reverence for the greater Rajab uprising.

It is necessary to remind one that these were two of the most conspicuous stands in opposition to the isolation of the call from the source of religious knowledge; we mention them as examples of this sort of approach, which had been planned.

Statements of Guidance by Emam Khomeyni

Emam Khomeyni has ceaselessly stressed the relationship between the Islamic movement and religious scholars on every occasion. When a delegation from the Party of the Call to Islam met with him, he spoke to the delegation and gave a valuable minatory statement. His statement included the point that people considered that the scholars' preoccupation with politics was inappropriate and not part of their duties and that they had to distance themselves from politics, and that this view had now changed; people had a distaste for the notion of Islamic parties, and the notion had changed now. He gave Mr Ali Khamene'i's success as an example and said, "Sixteen million citizens voted for him and he is the president."

On the basis of this platform, the call has been active since its establishment in asserting that the notion of the politics of Islamic law is a duty in law, not just a right, that scholars had to be politicians and that organization and political action were a political, tactical and educational necessity which could not be avoided. There was no schizophrenia between scholars and political figures in the party and the organization. People who called loudly for a separation between the line of the scholars and the source of knowledge and the Islamic organization and movements were working to isolate the scholars from the political stage and were trying to weaken the role of the organization in order to maintain control over the political stage.

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EXPERTS DISCUSS SADDAM IRRIGATION PROJECT

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 14 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Maryam al-Sanati: "Huge Projects Have Been Undertaken Since the Revolution; Saddam Irrigation Project Will Help Us Achieve Food Security"]

[Excerpts] An idea Iraqis have dreamed of since Abbasid times has been realized by the revolution. Iraqi labor and expertise have demonstrated their ability and potential. The project makes intelligent utilization of water to minimize waste.

The Glorious 17th of July Revolution has produced a renaissance in the country, guiding it forward with huge and comprehensive development activity in various economic and social spheres.

Agriculture has received a great deal of attention from the party and revolutionary leaders headed by President Saddam Husayn. This important sector has had big and important projects aimed at developing agriculture in several ways, one of which is reclamation of large tracts of uncultivated, wasted land. The country needs to utilize all of its land.

There has also been a growing number of big irrigation projects throughout the country, which has made it possible to irrigate large tracts of land.

The Saddam Irrigation Project is a huge and vital project which will divert the course of the Lesser Zab to a man made canal by means of the Dibis dam so that water stored up by the Dukan dam can be used to irrigate the plain between the foothills of the Zagros and Himrin Mountains and the Zab River, as well as the al-'Azim Plain.

Implementation of a project such as this requires awesome material and human resources. Although the idea for the project is not new, work on it began several years ago.

To grasp the immensity of the task and to examine this vital project--which covers a total area of 1,167,160 dunams--first hand, we must make a field trip to the work sites.

We say work sites because the project is not fixed in one location the way ordinary projects are. It is extensive, and includes within its scope vast extents which can only be reached and studied over several days.

The Saddam Irrigation Project, which was formerly called the Kirkuk Irrigation Project, will irrigate an area of 819,600 dunams with flowing water, and an area of 132,640 dunams by means of sprinklers. The total irrigated area thus amounts to 952,240 dunams.

This project is one of the largest irrigation projects in the country, and it will be an important factor in helping to ensure the country's food security for several reasons: the fertility of the land involved, the suitability of its soil and climate, and the availability and proximity of its water sources, which, as we have mentioned, are fed by the Dukan dam. Most of the land encompassed by the project receives continuous rainfall and suffers when the rain stops. On the whole, there is no summer agriculture.

So where shall our examination of the work begin?

That is the question.

The answer was given by Mr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, the minister of irrigation, who said, "It is true that the project will sustain a wide area. The governorates of al-Ta'mim, Salah al-Din and Diyala will benefit directly, but the bulk of the work and its completion begin in the governorate of al-Ta'mim."

That is the green light. The Governorate of al-Ta'mim is the focus and starting point of activity. It has the bulk or all of the work, while subsidiary work takes place in the other governorates.

On the way to al-Ta'mim I believed that I would be writing about a subject which must be described in terms of figures, areas and cubic meters. Frankly, I believed that it would be difficult to provide a balanced treatment of a project such as this.

An irrigation project. What would I say about it? From what perspective would I write? After more than three hours I was at the work site, or more accurately, at the Saddam Irrigation Project's general installation.

An Implementation Journey

On our trip from this site to another site Engineer 'Abd-al-Majid Hamid told me about the work. He remembered wonderful experiences of some of the workers with him at the site. He also told me about a trip in which he witnessed the most marvelous examples of communal endeavor.

He said, "We engineers who worked on this project consider ourselves fortunate, because the work has given us valuable experience. We feel proud to have worked on a strategic project such as this."

While still in the car on the way to the second work site we listened to reminiscences.

He said, "During the time we spent working I cannot remember us ever having been separated from each other at either lunch or breakfast. Everyone sat together, whether in a restaurant or at the work site. Laborers and engineers, the director and his assistants, drivers and technical people--we all sat together. We ate the same food and we shared the same feelings--the desire to complete the project properly, with a high level of precision. Praise God, as you can now see, we are proud to stand at the site of a project implemented through the efforts of Iraqis."

Let's pause here. This is the pumping station at the feeder canal which pumps 28 cubic meters of water a second to irrigate the land between Dibis and Kirkuk. This station operates with 14 vertical pumps each of which pumps 2 cubic meters per second.

The project extends and traverses the hills, then descends in straight lines and spirals. We follow its course another distance, then we stop again.

At this spot, a new work site, we met Engineer Mahdi Qanbar Mahdi, the director of one of the project's subprojects. After a short rest at the project's headquarters we again visited new work sites. But this time we were accompanied by the person directly responsible for implementation at this site.

Engineer Mahdi Qanbar Mahdi said, "This job involved construction of a 28 km underground pipeline with 300 sluice gates distributed over an area of 25,000 dunams. The diameter of these pipes ranges from 1.5 to 30 meters. Each of the 300 sluice gates releases 70 liters per second. This will help to solve difficulties faced by the farmers. The sluice gates will be operated from a central control. This method is notable for the fact that the water travels below the surface and thus remains cold. And cold water, as is well known, is best for agriculture. Each sluice gate will irrigate 160 dunams. In addition, there is a seven km earthen canal with eight barrages to raise the water level, with two barrages at the beginning and end of the sites."

Iraqi Efforts and Increased Experience

All of this tremendous undertaking was implemented directly. When we say "all" of the work we mean 100 percent--not a single foreign engineer worked on this project. Our cadre of workers has gained valuable experience in setting up and maintaining the network.

The area which will utilize this water has been carefully subdivided. Each farmer will have a 53 dunam portion of this land. The water will reach all areas, both nearby and distant, in equal amounts and at the same time. This will put an end to the farmers' saying: "The farmer goes to work without a hose". Each farmer will receive the same quantity of water at the same time because it is all pumped at the same pressure. This is one of the important features of the pipeline method used.

I learned from Engineer Mahdi Qanbar Mahdi that the area of this sub-project alone is sufficient for 475 farmers. It has been subdivided, and is ready for distribution on this basis. We also built several villages. So far we have built five villages with a network of paved roads to facilitate the transport of agricultural produce to the governorate.

We then visited the new villages which were built to house the farmers. They have been provided with all the amenities, and there are markets and other facilities of important villages. They are notable for their beautiful, well-arranged construction. This area, which is 45 km from the beginning of the project, will in the course of a few months be changed into farms and green fields by this big, vital project. Work is still under way on its final stages.

At another work site we spoke with Engineer 'Adnan 'Abd al-Rasul, the project supervisor for two of the project's several subprojects which are being implemented directly.

He said, "You have probably heard plenty of statistics. I would like to speak to you briefly about some of the project's distinguishing features and the new methods that are being used. The project is controlled by computer from a remote location, and is operated by electric and diesel power. Precise scientific control over water distribution is thus ensured."

Various Methods Of Optimum Utilization

Water is a national resource that should be utilized with the least amount of waste. Therefore several steps have been taken to achieve this goal. For one thing, the primary canal has been lined with laminated concrete even though that added 40 million dinars to the cost of the project. However, it has increased the project's life expectancy by several dozen years. In addition, other, less important parts have been lined with other kinds of linings. Furthermore, the project's primary sluice gates are regulated by remote control, and control of other parts has been automated. This remote control of the gates uses wireless transmission.

Other notable features of this project are the use of an underground flowing irrigation system to control soil erosion and minimize water loss, and the use of suspended concrete canals, which can cover a complete unit of area with less effort on the part of the farmer.

Experience We Have Gained

The discussion continued. The topic changed, but consequently poured into the flow of the Saddam Irrigation Project. The engineer spoke about the experience he gained through his work on the project. The worker remembered the trip during the first days at the beginning of implementation, and the delicious exertion of the days which turned into a huge project serving a wide area, turning it into farm land. Everyone we met had fond memories.

Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Rashid Isma'il, the director general of the project, said, "Although the project required us to redouble our efforts, that did not prevent us from participating in the battle front. With the outbreak of the war of aggression against our country, all of us--from the director general to all the engineers to a large number of the laborers --left for the front lines of al-Basrah to participate in the work of barricading the front. At the same time, we were boldly tackling the most important experiment of the project, the task of lining the canal.

"There were many who said that we would not succeed because of the difficulty of an endeavor such as this. But we carried it out although under the most difficult circumstances. We worked harder and longer. The entire cadre worked day and night, and we actually completed the work on this important part of the project ahead of schedule. I should mention that this canal was difficult from the standpoint of topography because of the rocks and the varying types of soil. In some areas there were eight kinds of strata. In olden times canals were subject to frequent cracking, and were exposed to gypsum salts which in certain areas amounted to 50 percent while the allowable amount is only 3 percent. This caused many projects to fail and has caused many canals throughout the world to collapse."

How did you become absolutely certain that you had succeeded in this vital and important part of the project--lining the canal?

Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Rashid Isma'il said, "We became certain that the operation was a success by empirical observation. Six months after this part of the project was opened we found that there was no water loss due to leakage after the canal was filled. That is the right way to determine whether an experiment such as this is successful."

This project has many important and unique features. For example, the need for maintenance operations has been reduced by using a reservoir with an area of 160 dunams at the source of the project's primary stream to allow silt to settle and prevent it from entering the primary canal. Another distinctive feature is that the need for draining is not anticipated for several years because of the depth of the subterranean water which in certain areas reaches 70 meters. Nevertheless, studies on draining it have been prepared, and the project has the distinction of being the first to produce these studies.

It should be mentioned that there are natural depressions which will help in collecting the water when it is drained and then in disinfecting.

I noticed that there are certain experimental farms which belong to the project. What is their relation with the project?

Mr Isma'il said, "The question of agricultural development has accompanied the project's construction activities. Since 1978 four experimental farms have been set up for purposes of research and experiments with various kinds of plants which are suitable for the project's environment, and to determine how much fertilizer and water are needed in accordance with the soil and climate."

Sprinkler irrigation is also being used in areas where it is difficult to irrigate with flowing water. Thus an area of more than 50,000 dunams is being covered within the first and second phases, of which 10,000 dunams will be ready during the coming winter season. This subject, of course, makes me turn to the matter of providing housing for the farmers. When the project's three phases have been completed 20,000 farmers will benefit. Studies have been undertaken on the construction of modern villages for the farmers. In fact, 7 central and secondary villages have been built which include 577 houses equipped with water and electricity, and a network of paved roads. These villages were built according to directives of the political leaders of the party and the revolution, who are headed by President Saddam Husayn, in the knowledge that these villages, and particularly the central ones, include clinics, schools, observation installations and warehouses. Each house has an area of 800 square meters, to enable the farmers to their livestock, taking into consideration the distance of the farmers' land from these houses. We must not forget that in addition to the agricultural aspect of the project it also ensures a source of drinking water for the city of Kirkuk, adding to the other pipelines in the governorates of al-Ta'mim and Salah al-Din.

Finally, Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Rashid Isma'il, the director general of the project, said, "In addition to its above-mentioned importance this project has provided valuable experience to the Iraqi cadre who worked on it. The experience gained by the Iraqi engineers during implementation of the project has familiarized them with all the small and large details of the work. We can now depend on our cadre in other big projects. Some of them are now working on irrigation projects in certain governorates after having finished the part which they were responsible for. At the same time we must not forget the role of the female Iraqi engineers who participated effectively in the field work side by side with the male engineers, and who have shown high competence and superior ability in carrying out and persevering in their work."

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RAMADAN OPENS NEW SOLAR RESEARCH CENTER

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 20 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Bushra Muhammad Shabib: "First Deputy Prime Minister Opens Solar Energy Research Center"]

[Text] Mr Taha Yasin Ramadan, a member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister, inaugurated the solar energy research center yesterday morning. The center is under the authority of the Scientific Research Committee in al-Jadiriya, and was built at a cost of 3.5 million dinars.

The opening ceremonies began with a recitation from the Koran, after which those in attendance stood for one minute to honor the martyrs of Saddam's glorious Qadisiyah.

Ms Nidal Ibrahim al-Hamdani, the director general of the Solar Energy Research Center, then made a statement. She praised the unlimited support the leaders of the party and the revolution--and above all President Saddam Husayn--were offering in scientific and technological areas.

She said, "The Solar Energy Research Center is a notable scientific achievement. It will utilize solar energy for heating and cooling. It is a pillar of scientific research in the field of new energy sources in our country."

The center's director general added that this project was completed while our country is in a state of war in the legitimate defense of its sovereignty and honor. Despite that, it is steadfastly devoting full attention to scientific and technological construction, thus affirming to the world, to the Persian enemy and to the enemies of the Arab Nation our determination to achieve progress and a decent life.

She said that the center has 14 laboratories specially equipped for various aspects of solar energy research, in addition to an auditorium, a computer, administrative offices, rooms for researchers, a library and other service facilities.

The new Solar Energy Research Center is a notable scientific achievement which utilizes solar energy for cooling, heating and heating water. It was built on an area of 3,000 square meters, and consists of 5 floors, in addition to 2 additional top floors for air conditioning equipment, for a total area of 6,361 square meters. It includes 14 scientific laboratories specially equipped for all aspects of solar energy research. It has rooms for a computer, administration, researchers, telex, a telephone exchange, a library, and auditorium, a workshops, a shelter and rooms for air conditioning and electrical equipment.

Solar collectors have been set up as follows: 1,017 units on the face of the building at a 45 degree angle, and 560 units in front of the building at a 17 degree angle so that these accumulators face 22.5 degrees south east.

Energy is absorbed by the solar collectors and the heat is transferred to water circulating through the collectors. The water is utilized directly to heat the air and to heat water, and indirectly in cooling the air by means of economical cooling apparatuses.

The primary cooling system used in the building is the absorption cooling system. Two absorption cooling units are being used, each with a capacity to cool 60 tons. There is also a supplementary cooling system of two pump-operated thermal cooling units, each of which has a capacity to cool 40 tons. These will operate only when absolutely necessary. The building's electric system is equipped with two transformers, each with a capacity of 750 kilovolt-amperes. The building is also equipped with an electric generator with a capacity of 750 kilovolt-amperes, which will switch on automatically when the electric current is interrupted.

The central air conditioning units and equipment require precise control to regulate their operation for specific periods of time. Therefore, a central control unit has been installed to govern all functions of the system's units and to indicate when any of its parts are malfunctioning.

The inauguration ceremonies were attended by Mr Tariq Hamad al-'Abdallah, the minister of light industries; Mr 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud, the minister of irrigation; Dr Najih Muhammad Khalil, head of the Scientific Research Council; the deputy minister of industry; the deputy minister of housing and construction; Hikmat Ibrahim, an adviser on the Revolutionary Command Council; the president of the University of Baghdad; the president of al-Mustansiriyah University; the head of the General Federation of Iraqi Women; the head of the teachers' the director general of the Jordanian Royal Academy; the directors general of the scientific research centers on the council.

9123

CSO: 4404/615

GRADUAL MOVE TOWARDS POLITICAL RIGHT EXPLAINED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 10 Aug 84 (Supplement) pp 1, 18

[Article by Eli Tabor: "Why Is Youth Moving Towards the Right?"]

[Text] The politicians did some soul-searching on the night the election results became known. It took sociologists a little more than 2 weeks to analyze what had happened. What is the significance of the 11th Knesset election results? Not in terms of the prospects for forming the next government, but in terms of the processes taking place in Israeli society?

At the beginning of the week the faculty of social sciences of the University of Tel Aviv held its first symposium to analyze the election results. Most of the members of the faculty who are directly involved in the matter participated. Some of them dealt at the theoretical level with the voting tendencies and to what extent they are connected to demographic characteristics such as age, ethnicity and religion. Others tried to analyze the significance of the election results in terms of tendencies at the ideological level, such as to what extent the election results signal changes in ideology, even if the majority of the public in which those changes take place are unaware of them.

Slowly but Surely

According to Professor Efra'im Ya'ar, psychologist and social scientist and director of the Institute for Social Research at the Sociology Dept of the University of Tel Aviv: "There is a clear tendency in the latest election results, which has been going on for about 15 years now, of a shift to the right. Since the end of the 1960's a process has been taking place in Israeli society in which political self-identification has been moving clearly to the right. This is not simply a transition from left to right. From a qualitative point of view, the left has become less leftist and more centrist, the center has become more rightist and the right has become more reactionary. The portion of the public that identifies itself as right-wing is increasing."

This can be seen not just in the election results. Nearly all the surveys and research conducted over the last 15 years point to this shift, which is occurring slowly but surely in Israeli society. It is not a question of a social earthquake, but rather the movement of a slow, almost invisible iceberg which is perceived only over a period of time.

In research published recently by Prof Yohanan Peres and Dr Sarah Shemer on "the Ethnic Factor in the 10th Knesset Elections," they derive, among others, the following conclusion: "Ethnic origin is one of the important factors which influence the political behavior of the Jewish Israeli public at the beginning of the 1980's. The congruence between ethnic origin and voting habits has increased since the last elections, and the overall division into two ethnic camps is useful, at least in predicting electoral behavior today... We found that this factor by itself, assuming all else is equal, will increase the gap between the two large parties (to Likud's benefit) at a rate of about 1.5 percent each election campaign."

The Long-Range Tendency

In the 11th Knesset elections this forecast, in fact, did not hold true. The strength of the Likud dropped. But the overall strength of the right increased exactly at the predicted rate. In other words, what the investigators, in fact, are saying is: It does not matter who heads the government, it does not matter if a rightist government wins or loses, electioneering and political propaganda are of no value--the political identity of Israeli society is preordained by a congruence that has been created between ethnicity and political self-identification.

One of the first to discern that the social-political balance was beginning to unravel was the sociologist, Prof Asher Ari'an. As early as the elections of 1969 he ascertained that three demographic variables were influencing election habits: ethnicity, age and length of time in Israel. Likud voters were characterized by being of Asian or African origin and by their youth, while Ma'arakh supporters were of European origin, older and long-established in Israel.

Because the weight of the first population group among the population at large is gradually increasing, it is only natural that the right-wing camp, with whom they identify, will become stronger. But at the time Ari'an believed that if the opposition (at that time) were mostly young, as they became older their voting habits would begin to conform to those of their seniors.

Gravitation to the Right

After the 1973 elections sociologists Peres, Ya'ar and Shofet conducted additional research that strengthened Ari'an's findings, but the conclusion was different: The groups in the ascendancy from the point of view of their proportion in the population tend to vote for Likud, while the demographic groups loyal to Ma'arakh were dwindling. Thus there is a long-range tendency, based on demographic developments, that augur well for the Likud.

In other words it turned out that young people are not changing their position as they get older. On the contrary, they continue to maintain it and even cause successive generations of youth, who belong to that portion of the electorate whose weight in the overall population is increasing, to follow in their footsteps.

According to Professor Ya'ar: "What is interesting in this phenomenon is that while on the left-right axis there is continual movement to the right, on the socialist-capitalist axis the majority of the population still sees itself closer to socialism by a ratio of 40-60 percent. Therefore, even those who identify themselves as rightists add that they also consider themselves socialists."

Professor Ya'ar and his colleagues claim that because the profile of the Israeli rightist, who is of Asian or African origin, young and living in Israel for a relatively short time, is increasing within the population, the attraction of the left, which in the early years of the State of Israel was dominant, is now moving to the right.

"We must distinguish between the initial movement toward Likud, the beginnings of which were seen as early as 1969 and were expressed more massively in 1977 and 1981, and identification with Likud since then. The initial vote for Likud was a protest vote. Likud was the only alternative by which youth of the oriental communities could express their protest. It was not the ideology of the Likud that attracted them. It was feelings of discrimination that pushed them in that direction. If, for example, the right had been leading the country in its early years, the exact opposite would have happened--the feelings of discrimination would have pushed these youth to the left.

Unconscious Connections

But since 1981 two additional processes have occurred: the one is psychological-social and the other the occurrences that have taken place since then in the country.

According to Professor Ya'ar: "In psychology there is a phenomenon called "conditioning". When a certain stimulus appears at a critical stage in the life of an animal or a human being, it puts its stamp upon him. Unconscious connections are created with that stimulus. Afterwards there is conditioning, from which it is difficult to free oneself. If, for example, ducks at 9-12 hours after birth are presented with a mechanical toy, even one that does not look like a duck, after a few hours, when the mother duck appears, the young duck will prefer to follow the toy and not its mother. At a young age, there is this phenomenon of conditioning. Following a, perhaps, one-time act of protest on the part of youth who voted for Likud in the years 1973-1977, a conditioning was created, and the inclination for Likud became a central emotional tie. In order to stop it, something radically dramatic would have to happen".

In parallel with this conditioning phenomenon, something additional happened: an increase in the religious factor. If in the first years of the state, the religious parties had but minimal involvement in non-religious matters, after 1967, with the capture of Judaea and Samaria, a religious ideology developed that brought about a process of movement within religious circles.

According to Professor Ya'ar: "The reality created in Israel after 1967 gave the orthodox ideological content with which to lead the struggle. The radicalism of religious ideology is much more severe than that of secular ideology. If, for example, in terms of security and territories are not a goal in and of themselves but rather a means for defending the country, in religious ideology holding onto the territories has become a sanctified objective all by itself.

"The reality created in Israel after 1967 strengthened rightist ideology. Because the young naturally incline to be more idealistic and more radically idealistic than their parents, and since in the reality of Israeli society no competing ideology was created--it is no wonder that a significant portion of the youth inclined toward the only ideology at hand, the national or nationalist ideology."

To Spend the Energy

Ya'ar and his colleagues say that as the state aged and went through processes of social and economic change, which spelled the end of socialist hegemony, an ideological void was created. The Six Day war and what followed in its wake provided the opportunity for an outbreak of rightist ideologies, both secular and religious, which were captivating to youth. Youth generally, and everywhere, debate, argue and try to find a new way. If in Israel they are attracted to a rightist ideology, it is because there is simply no alternative.

"This is a characteristic problem for the entire western world, which is losing its ideological magic," says Professor Ya'ar, "An opportunity has been created here which is generally unavailable to youth in the western world: a nationalist ideology to which is added a security danger to the state's very existence. This provides Israeli youth an opportunity to express their energy and their bond to youth."

This explains why the rate of support for the right among youth is much greater than among older portions of the population--but it is just one explanation. All of Israel's social scientists agree about the phenomenon itself. But there is disagreement about the reasons for it. Some say that the full range of qualitative reasons are not yet known.

According to Prof Yohanan Peres, from the anthropology and sociology department at Tel Aviv University: "A rightist wave is sweeping the world. Youth tend to adopt conceptual fashions for other than purely social reasons. Youth in general feel less of an obligation to the groups that preceded them. They are therefore more open to a new spirit which, even though it may seem reactionary, is the spirit of the age.

"I see a world-wide connection between phenomena such as Khomeyni-ism, the 'moral majority' in the U.S. and the growing inclination of youth here to follow Tehiya and Rabbi Kahane. In each country the phenomenon takes a different form. It is very interesting to compare what is happening here with the phenomenon of Khomeyni-ism in Iran. The style, of course, is different, but the two phenomena belong to a single wave. The reasons for the appearance of this wave have not yet been sufficiently defined, but we feel its presence."

An additional point, which, according to Yohanan Peres, we cannot ignore is the reality in which youth who reached voting age in 1977, 1981, and 1984 grew up. "They grew up in a state of conquest. For them the State of Israel is a State of Israel that includes Judaea and Samaria. Any change in that situation is a change in a situation to which they have felt belonging for as long as they can remember. Just as someone who grew up in Israel before the founding of the state would not consider it possible to give Ramle and Yafo back to the Palestinians, so those whose world-view includes Judaea and Samaria as part of Israel cannot grasp any other reality."

Professor Peres says that also the fact that what is identified as left in Israel is connected with economic and social status, with a high standard of living, with wealth, with social security--that the Kibutzim and the Histadrut are a facet of the same thing--speaks to the heart of the older set. "Ma'arakh seems to the younger set as responsible, experienced and old, while the Likud has a young, fresh image, less tied to property. Paradoxically, it is precisely the right in Israel which has a fresh, dynamic, magic image."

The conclusion to be drawn is: What is crucial for most young people is not purely ideology, not a political-social platform, not an economic program and not value identification with one side or another. Youth follow images. But particularly important in Israel is the ethnic factor. As Peres and Shemer establish in their research: "Political-ethnic organization on one side leads to parallel organization on the other side. The more the conflict deepens, the more the two sides apply pressure to those who vote against what is acceptable in their community. Voting which deviates from the community pattern becomes harder and harder." Because the proportion of the communities which identify with the right is increasing among the young, the relative proportion of youth who identify themselves as rightist is also increasing.

9794

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ALIGNMENT, LIKUD NUCLEAR OPTION PLATFORMS ANALYZED

Basic Differences

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Shlomo Aronson]

[Text] Beneath the realm of entertainment, beneath the temporary baby teeth of little girls with dark, light or chestnut hair, and beneath the catchy marching songs of the major parties, real differences are concealed, albeit in delicate, less perceptible areas than the generally perceived differences of style, reasoning and world view. They are covered with a sweet--or bitter--pile of rhetoric, which inhibits serious analysis. No one is clear as to where Yitzhaq Rabin stands on the fence of the Jordan Valley issue, although people erroneously think that this question would cross into the boundary of Israeli security, while Rabin himself is emphasizing his party's commitment to a dovish initiative following the elections. It is clear that King Husayn will not suddenly buy the "Alon Plan;" on the other hand, it is not clear how the Alignment will react to a rapprochement between Jordan and the PLO, a move that is anticipated following a Labor Party victory in July. The question is, does the Alignment indeed have a serious, in depth, crystallized concept of national security. Have the old conflicts among factions within the Alignment--between Peres and Rabin, or between the two of them and the left wing of the Labor Party and Mapam--on foreign policy and security issues been settled beyond the decorum they maintained during the election campaign.

An analysis of the statements made by Peres in a meeting with the MA'ARIV editorial board (29 June) and in an interview for MONITIN (July issue), shows that, in contrast with his televised messages, the Labor Party chairman takes an in-depth and serious stand on basic regional issues. His position is not new*, but its public development was delayed until the current elections.

MA'ARIV wrote that Peres "was frightened to death" by the thought of "what would happen in another 10 to 15 years when atomic weapons penetrated the Middle East. Therefore, we must strive toward peace with Egypt, Jordan and Syria." According to MA'ARIV, Peres revealed that the late

*See on this subject Mati Golan's book "Peres," Shoken Publications, 1982, especially chapter 10 and following.

Egyptian President Sadat had initiated the peace process partly because of the atomic reactor in Dimona. The Likud government, he added, is only inviting further conflict with the Arabs. The Alignment, on the other hand, "would use polite words and take a flexible stand on the desire to enter negotiations. Only at the negotiating table would we demonstrate our intransigence...One must be generous with words, not territory."

In effect, this is merely a tactic--an outward show of Israeli flexibility, intransigence during the actual negotiations, leading to either an "Alon Plan" type compromise or something short of that, or, the blame would fall on the Arabs for the absence of tactical flexibility on their part.

In his conversation with MONITIN, Peres repeated a position that appears fundamental--"I'm afraid that in 10 to 15 years, the Arabs will have nuclear weapons. Today, we have what we have, and they do not have what they do not have, and the truth is that the answer will not be technological (nonconventional weapons for the Arabs would create an impossible situation), but political. I'm willing to stand firm on this issue."

The meaning of these statements could be straightforward: that Israel, in the eyes of the Arabs, has an atomic monopoly; that they can not come to terms with this--"and in another 10 to 15 years" they will have their own nuclear weapons. In the absence of a political solution to the serious situation that will result from the introduction of such weapons into the area--i.e., in the absence of negotiations with the intent to arrive at a compromise with them--the Middle East will be hurled into the shadows of a nuclear holocaust. The partners in such negotiations would be Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The Alignment would not deny the Arabs respect, or confront them with demands of an ideological nature, removed from the norms accepted throughout the world on the issue of the fate of their brothers under the Israeli regime, because the danger of nuclear weapons--which could destroy not only Israel, but the Arabs as well--may bring them to the negotiating table, if they are willing to compromise with the Israeli side. The Likud leaves the Arabs no choice but to seek new rounds of war. Eventually, they, too, will have atomic weapons, and they will use them.

To this interpretation one can add the position of the super powers, and the special responsibility and careful consideration that Israel's nuclear potential implies. The Likud, according to this interpretation, used the nuclear potential attributed to Israel in a simplistic, mechanical and extremely dangerous way. In his drive to annex territories populated by Arabs, to make Israel a "regional power" and to force Israeli-American cooperation in these areas, Sharon was playing with ordinary fire and with atomic fire. The game began with the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear plant and Begin and Sharon's public declaration of an Israeli nuclear monopoly, integrated within the policy of annexing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Lebanon War in a broad sense served, among other things, the Likud strategy. In that sense, the war has been called a failure--it was bound to result in an American confrontation over the course of the war, and in an Israeli-Syrian confrontation over the Soviet's massive support.

The Likud tried to force its hard-line principles on a regional and international reality that would not stand for it. Among other things, the Likud tried to use the strategy of nuclear monopoly and total deterrence in blatant and dangerous ways--which tied in with control over territories heavily populated with Arabs. Peres' concept of security, on the other hand, presumes that Israeli nuclear deterrence can ensure the continued existence of Israeli--within 1967's borders and within the boundaries of territorial compromise. Deterrence cannot be the basis for annexing territories populated by Arabs. It cannot prevent a "legitimate" Arab war to liberate those territories. It can, in conjunction with persistent negotiations with pragmatic Arab nations--although not with the PLO, which has never been pragmatic--justify the Israeli claim to the right to establish territorial security. Such a strategy would prevent Israel's dependence on atomic weapons alone. At least it would be possible to reach an outright or understood Israeli-American agreement, if it becomes clear that the Arabs want all the territories and are pressuring Israel. Then, in the absence of minimal strategic depth, Israel could fall back on the nuclear potential. But perhaps it will be possible to explain to the Arabs the terrible danger they would be creating for themselves if Israel was reduced to a narrow strip, without strategic depth, surrounded by antagonistic Palestinians, with no alternative for existence but the threat of atomic deterrence. On the other hand, the danger exists that the Arabs will acquire their own nuclear option, and by virtue of the that, the "liberation" of the territories now in Israel's hands. In that situation, it would be very difficult to calculate their intentions, and it is likely that the need to use nuclear weapons as a threat against them would arise--especially if they achieve initial gains as they did in the Yom Kippur War. In a dangerous situation of this kind, it would be very difficult to maintain control, especially if the Arabs had atomic weapons. It is therefore plausible that the territories could become the catalyst for an atomic war.

Military Judgments

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 11 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Shlomo Aronson]

[Text] One of the essential differences between the late Moshe Dayan and Shimon Peres, was Dayan's refusal to develop a complete Israeli defense scheme that would encompass, among other components, the problem of the nuclear arms race in the Middle East. Despite his public image, Dayan was fearful of Israel's nuclear potential. First, because in his heart he did not know what could be done with that option--other than publicly threatening to use it if Arab armies crossed a certain "red line." Even then, it is doubtful if that would stop them, because "those kinds of weapons are not used," he told me in a conversation on the subject during the winter of 1981. Obviously, no one really considers using nuclear weapons. Dayan's sharp, concrete mind, which went beyond theories of deterrence and beyond the most sophisticated and modern conceptualization of statesmen and scientists in this area--could not relate to the deterrent significance of "weapons that are not used."

Second, Dayan did not want to eliminate options. To him, territorial compromise on the West Bank meant giving up security, control and territory close to his heart, all at a time when the Arabs could embitter the lives of Israelis from positions in territories on the West Bank that would be returned. The most dangerous among them--the Palestinians--would receive powerful moral and concrete incentives to do just that. Thus came the desire not to limit his options, and the lessons of the Yom Kippur War led Dayan to react with reserved optimism toward Israeli nuclear deterrent power. He was the only one who discussed the issue openly, but he tied his position on the nuclear issue and other defense policies to political detente with Egypt; Palestinian autonomy, without withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza; and preserving at all costs Israeli-American cooperation. Of course, Dayan saw the Begin-Sharon team as a danger to the main thrust: Removing Egypt from the circle of Arab enmity in exchange for Sinai, thanks to the extremism of other Arabs and Israeli flexibility on the issue of autonomy.

Dayan was very anxious about the Likud's adventure in Lebanon. In meetings with friends during his last election campaign in 1981, Dayan expressed this most strongly. However, Dayan's differences of opinion with Shimon Peres (and to a lesser degree with Yitzhaq Rabin) were no less serious: Peres espoused even then a dovish policy vis-a-vis the West Bank. Dayan offered various explanations for his old friend's position, among them Peres' political need to establish a position in the eyes of the Alignment's left wing. In a private conversation with Dayan of this subject, he pointed out to me that Peres was also willing to accept territorial compromise on the West Bank because he did not want to be dragged into the nuclear arms race with the entire West Bank and its Arabs in our hands; and at a time when the whole world was united against us with the claim that the situation was the result of Israel's intransigent and illegitimate stand on the issue of the territories.

Thus, even during the 1981 elections, it appeared to anyone who looked deeply enough that Peres was ready to be considerably more flexible on the issue of the West Bank, both because he feared a nuclear arms race in the area while the entire West Bank and its large Arab population was in our hands, and because of his belief that the atomic power already attributed to Israel would allow us to build our defenses, and not only in the occupied territories. It was clear to him that Israel's occupation of populated territories made Israel a prime international enemy and would certainly ensure Soviet support for any war that would erupt with the purpose of "liberating" the territories, although not to destroy Israel. Israel's nuclear option could somehow help guarantee Israel's very existence--especially if used in conjunction with serious negotiations on territorial compromise.

Sharon's Lesson

The lesson Dayan learned from the Yom Kippur War--negotiations on removing Egypt from the conflict in exchange for Sinai and autonomy for West Bank Arabs--and the lessons learned by Peres--to eliminate the seeds of catastrophe

for the future of our relations with the Arabs while their brothers live in territories under Israeli control, this via negotiations for territorial compromise, and to build Israel's defenses based on nuclear deterrence as well--were dashed by Arik Sharon's extremism in the opposite direction. According to Sharon, Yom Kippur made it clear that in the eyes of the world, there is justification for the Arabs to conduct a limited war to "liberate" the territories when and where they choose; and further, that the USSR would aid them directly, while the US would aid indirectly--if only because Washington would not endanger itself by entering into a conflict with Moscow over the territories. Since Sharon promised to annex the territories, even seeing this step as a catalyst to his career in the Herut movement, he had no choice but to develop a "strategy" that would serve both his personal goals and the Herut ideology. One of the tools he used was the Israeli nuclear option.

Since he reached the conclusion that during the Alignment's reign Israel's deterrent power had been reduced to the minimal "red line," or "last judgment day," without making any clear public statements on the subject, Sharon also jumped to the conclusion that the Arabs had received carte blanche from Israel to engage in conventional warfare in the occupied territories, without fear of an Israeli nuclear reaction. From all this, Sharon concluded--according to statements he repeated in public--that there was a basic Israeli-American conflict of interests on the question of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; that the "strategic initiative" should be back in Israel's hands--even to the point of initiating a war against an enemy common to both countries, such as the PLO and Syria; that credibility must be established regarding Israel's deterrent capabilities--beyond the minimal confines of the "red line" or the "last judgment day;" and that Israel must instill in the hearts of the Arabs the fear that it would "strike a human blow at their heart" as soon as they initiated a war, any war.

The Lebanon War came, among other things, to lend credibility to this global, massive deterrence. Anyone who sends eight divisions into Lebanon, besieging cities, is establishing a "new order" with its neighbors--Israel as a power, a power that will not hesitate to use the nuclear monopoly it has been attributed with since the Iraqi reactor incident. After the fact, we find that what we had here was a confusion of concepts, over-simplification, ignorance and isolated brutality based on the desire to annex territories and advance Sharon's personal career. Lebanon meant Druze, Shi'is, Sunnis and dubious Christians, as well as massive Soviet support of Syria; the peace with Egypt--Dayan's prodigy--was like a stillborn child. In this context, annexation of the West Bank and impending war, perhaps even atomic, became more imminent possibilities.

Yitzhaq Shamir and Moshe Arens are neither opportunists nor unrestrained powers like Sharon, but like Sharon they are committed to perpetual Israeli control over the territories. The courageous action they must take in the face of the major threat to Israel's well-being now--detering

the Syr'ans, preventing Damascus' use of Lebanon as a stage for striking the IDF via Syrian emissaries and allies--boils down to the fact that Israel's defenses are neither here nor there. On the other hand, one must ask if, despite his position in his divided and embroiled party during the 1981 elections, Peres had the ability to reach an agreement in principal with Rabin on basic issues of defense.

In the past, Rabin reacted to the nuclear component of Peres' defense platform with fear and trepidation. He tended to ascribe supreme importance to the territories and as much importance as possible to a conventional IDF. Peres, on the other hand, saw this component both as a source of power and as a reason for negotiating a territorial compromise before the Arabs could acquire nuclear weapons. During the 1981 elections, Peres did not talk about this openly, as he is doing today. But, it was clear that his position in the party leadership and his relations with both Rabin and the left-wing branch of the Alignment would not have allowed him to carry out a crystallized defense plan of any kind in any government that he would head. During the current election campaign, we must ask if Rabin supports Peres' defense strategy in full, or if we are seeing a reconciliation between two men who have remained divided on basic strategic policies, as even the Alignment's left wing has not supported the fundamentals of Peres' strategy. Has this personal reconciliation brought an end to the essential differences between factions within the Alignment? In contrast with the 1981 elections, there is room today for hope on this crucial issue.

9811

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NAVAL SHIPYARD CAPABILITIES, EXPORT POTENTIAL SURVEYED

Stuttgart MARINE RUNDSCHAU in German Aug 84 pp 373-379

[Article by Shlomo Naaman: "The Israeli Naval Shipbuilding Industry"]

[Text] The best known product of the Israel naval shipbuilding industry are the famous 450-ton small missile boats of the "Reshef" class (following the Israeli designation "Saar 4"). Twelve units of this class have been built in the Israeli yard in Haifa or in South Africa under license.

The "Saar 4's" form the backbone of the Israeli navy and they are presently used in two other navies (Chile and South Africa). Designed and built by the Israeli industry and equipped with missiles, weapons and sensors that were manufactured in Israel, the "S-ar 4" boats represent a good example of the high technological standard of the Israeli naval shipbuilding industry and also testify to the skill of the Israeli naval engineers.

The Israeli naval shipbuilding industry is still young and remains relatively small. Before the 1960's there were no installations for shipbuilding and likewise there were no shops to produce naval systems in Israel. In this respect the naval shipbuilding industry was no different from other branches of industry which were taking their first steps in the 1960's. The reason that this industry has remained relatively small until now can be seen in the circumstance that, both from an economic as well as from a military viewpoint, only a low national priority was assigned to the sea on the Israeli side.

Even the outstanding "Gabriel" antiship missile was originally developed not as a naval warfare weapon but from the need of the designers who did not know what to do with a ground-to-ground missile which was developed, but did not appear suitable for the ground forces.

The Naval Warfare Theater

In accordance with the concepts prevailing in Israel in the 1950's, the sea was regarded as a secondary theater of war in the event of a war.

It was assumed that dangers from the sea could be turned back by the airforce and that those ships that a navy required could be acquired from the stocks of the large navies left over from World War II, which were available on the free

market at low prices. So the Israeli navy played a subordinate role in the efforts directed at national defense.

In the 1960's these ideas began to change, based on the fact that Israel's hostile neighbors, Egypt and Syria, were beginning to complete their navies with modern ships and equipment from the Soviet Union, including modern missile boats ("Komar" and "Osa" classes), which were equipped with sea-skimming "Styx" missiles and modern fire control installations. An arms race at sea was unavoidable. Israel had to look around for an answer to the growing threat from the sea and directed its gaze to various European countries.

The high-speed boats of the Bundesmarine were regarded as the prototype of suitable vessels. Its boats of the "Jaguar" and "Zobel" class had been designed for tasks which, in the eyes of the Israeli navy, were similar or close to its own possible assignments: actions against Soviet naval material in a restricted sea area, as in the case of the FRG in the Baltic and of Israel in the eastern Mediterranean.

Thus the "Saar 2-" and "Saar 3"-class boats came about, based on a concept for the Bundesmarine's high-speed boats and designed by the German Luerksen yard. Like the boats for the Bundesmarine at the same time, they were ordered from the French CNM yard in Cherbourg. At this time, France was the only Western country which permitted deliveries of military equipment to Israel.

The 6-Day War of 1967

The 6-day war in June 1967 was an important turning point for Israeli strategy at sea and for the establishment of a domestic naval shipbuilding industry. When this brief war was over, the Israeli navy found itself, literally overnight, responsible for a coastline that was four to five times as long as before. Beyond that, there was a totally new theater of war, the Red Sea, with its peculiar problems which brought additional assignments for the navy.

Following the 6-day war, French relationships with Israel became increasingly less friendly, and 1 year after the war, in 1968, France imposed a total embargo on the supply of military equipment to Israel, including equipment for which Israel had already paid, such as 50 Mirage²⁵ aircraft, which were just about to be delivered. The embargo also included the second group of six "Saar 3" boats, which were again lying in the French port of Cherbourg following their sea trials, but manned by Israeli crews.

While the politicians were negotiating the release of the detained missile boats, the Israeli navy was already looking for additional, more powerful units. Since the European yards were not open for the appropriate orders, the navy and the Israeli Ministry of Defense had to fall back on the nation's own resources, as had already happened with respect to the production of aircraft and other military equipment. Fortunately, a certain infrastructure already existed for shipbuilding, Israel Shipyards Ltd. in Haifa, which had been established with some foresight a few years previously.

Israel Shipyards Ltd., Haifa

The most important industrial concern in the naval area in Israel is the state-owned Israel Shipyards Ltd. Established in 1961, the yard has built more than 50 different civilian and military ships in the period from 1961 to 1984. The reason for establishing this yard was to give the country a certain industrial independence in the sector of naval shipbuilding, but at the same time it was the policy of the owners, the Israeli government, to maintain a strong civilian shipbuilding division within and simultaneously with military shipbuilding.

The yard's civilian deliveries include various freighters of 3,000 gross tons and container ships up to 9,000 gross tons, which were all delivered to Israeli trade shipping companies. In addition to the ships, the yard built four floating docks with 20,000 tons lifting power, three of them for foreign buyers.

The naval shipbuilding division started its activities by modernizing all the landing craft for the Israeli navy. With the experience gained in this repair and modernization, construction of new landing craft was begun. In 1970 the yard was given the important order to finish equipping the six "Saar 3" missile boats from Cherbourg, which were initially detained by the French government in the yard. These boats had been smuggled out of their yard berth with Israeli crews on Christmas Eve 1969, which created headlines in the international press at the time.

These boats, although they were completely seaworthy, were not completed and could not be handed over to the Israeli navy for this reason. Israel Shipyards Ltd. completed the assignment of fully equipping them and delivering them to the navy. The "Saar 3's" are 235-ton small missile boats, which are equipped with the Gabriel antiship missile and cannons as secondary armament. Their speed, armament, their good seagoing qualities as well as their electronic sensors and fire control systems make them powerful fighting units at sea. They bear a great resemblance to the German "Class 148" boats. This is no surprise, since they were developed and designed by the same Luerksen yard.

The most important shipbuilding program of Israel Shipyards in the 1970's was the design and construction of a second generation of small missile boats for the Israeli navy: the 450-ton "Saar 4" or "Reshef" class. The need for larger and more heavily armed boats with greater endurance came from the new operating needs at sea following the 6-day war. As already mentioned, the Israeli sea borders and territorial areas at sea had been substantially expanded, and the navy believed that in future wars battles would be fought at a greater distance from home waters. In order to give the ships the possibility of attacking over a greater distance and of defending themselves, a larger platform was needed. So the navy called for a 415-ton, very fast missile boat. At the time this was an unusual size, which fell into the gap between the high-speed boats customary at the time and the much larger corvettes of about 1,000 tons and above.

In a courageous decision, the Israeli Ministry of Defense and the navy gave the order to design and build these ships to Israel Shipyards; in fact a project for any shipyard, even for the very experienced and much older yards in Europe and the United States. The decision was made easier by the good experiences of the Ministry of Defense and the navy with Israel Shipyards and in part, naturally, by the lack of any opportunity to find other solutions. So Israel Shipyards started the project at the end of the 1960's, by designing a "Saar 4" small missile boat according to navy specifications, drawing up the detailed construction plans and creating the necessary construction halls and installations. In addition, the necessary materials and a number of systems were purchases abroad. Substantial support was given through a shipyard in the FRG.

The first "Saar 4" boat, the INS "Reshef," was delivered to the Israeli navy in the spring of 1973, 7 months before the Yom Kippur war broke out in October 1973. Only two "Saar 4" boats took part in this war, along with the "Saar 3" flotilla. But the "Saar 4" boats proved their outstanding seagoing qualities and combat qualities. It is widely known that the Israeli navy gained total superiority at sea over Egypt and Syria in the Mediterranean in this war, a fact that can be attributed among other factors to the combat characteristics of the Israeli "Saar 4" small missile boats. These qualities were fully recognized by other navies, which ordered "Saar 4" boats. Over the years the Israeli navy has carried out a number of changes to the basic design of the "Saar 4," including retrofitting Harpoon guides missiles in addition to the Gabriel III missiles already installed on deck. Many of the electronic systems were also brought up to the newest state of technology.

The "Aliya" Class

A variation on the "Saar 4" are the "Aliya" small missile boats ("Aliya" is the name of the first boat completed). The design of the "Aliya" is based on the "Saar 4" design, which was changed in length to be able to provide the possibility of housing a helicopter with a landing platform and a hangar. The arrangement of the armament and of the deck was also changed. The "Aliya" boats--now six units--have been built for the Israeli navy since 1980.

When the Israeli Shipyards completed the "Saar" program, the navy was already preparing to design future generations of ships. According to one plan, larger missile units were needed, while another plan came out to building many very fast and very small missile boats which were supposed to ensure superiority at sea in the vicinity of the coast. Hydrofoils from the United States were regarded as suitable for the task of the small, light missile boats. Various types of hydrofoil were under development at this time, the first half of the 1970's. But nothing suitable could be found to meet the need for a large missile boat, and so Israel Shipyards offered the navy the design of an 850-ton light corvette and presented a detailed proposal.

The "C-850" corvette was, as stated, 850 tons in size and powered by a CODAG [Combined Diesel and Gas] system. It was to be equipped with a mixture of sea-target missiles and point-defense weapons systems as well antisubmarine systems which matched the newest state of technology. But besides design

considerations, the Israeli navy had neither the resources in material and manpower to adopt both programs, for a hydrofoil and a corvette, simultaneously and so the acquisition of the larger ships was turned down, or better, postponed.

Hydrofoils

From the available hydrofoils, the Israeli navy selected the Grumman M-161 "Flagstaff II" design as the first part of a hydrofoil program. Two boats were ordered, one with Grumman in Lautane, Florida, the second one from Israel Shipyards under license from Grumman. The intention was to build all the remaining boats in the program in Israel. The "Flagstaff II" series, ("Shimrit"-class) is 105 tons with an aluminum hull. The "Shimrit" has a range of 750 to 1,150 nautical miles and the maximum speed on the foils is 52 knots. The boat is equipped with a mixture of Harpoon and Gabriel missiles as well as with a 30-mm twin cannon.

Currently two "Shimrit" hydrofoils are operationally ready for the Israel navy and are undergoing tests before further orders are placed. Israel Shipyards now has the knowhow and the license to build additional boats for the Israeli navy or for export. Mention is made in the international fleet handbooks of 10 additional boats to be built for the Israeli navy.

The "Saar 5" Missile Units

As a result of the general crisis in shipyards and the lack of orders from the Israeli navy in recent years, Israel Shipyards had reduced its activities and cut back its work force by hundreds of workers. But more orders will be in sight very soon and will bring better times again. In the civilian sector the yard presently has orders for two refrigerator ships for Israeli owners, and in the military sector the "Saar 5" program is now in view and planning has started in a tangible way.

"Saar 5" is the designation for a generation of new ships for the Israeli navy. The existence of the "Saar 5" program was announced recently, although without any details about the ships. A certain picture can be created from various publications. The development and construction of the ships will be an Israeli national program, which will be carried out with the support of the United States in knowhow and technology and also in supplying systems that are not manufactured in Israel. (This applies primarily to the propulsion system.) The principal recipient of orders will be Israel Shipyards Ltd., and it will be a missile corvette of about 1,000 tons.

The portrait of Israel Shipyards would not be complete if no mention was made of the yard's ability to build landing craft. Landing craft built at the Israel Shipyards took part in the Yom Kippur war and in the recent war in Lebanon, when Israeli groups carried out amphibious landings behind the enemy lines. Israel Shipyards also has a repair and maintenance division, which can carry out overhauls of civilian and military ships. This repair facility is also used by units of the American 6th Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean.

Ramta Systems & Structures

Israel Aircraft Industries, Israel's largest industrial company, also participates in the development and manufacture of maritime products. In the I.A.I. Ramta Systems & Structures factory in Beer-Seva, three types of high-speed military boat are built, the "Dvora-," the "Dabur-" and the "Shapirit"-class. Since this is an inland yard, some distance from the sea, the size of the ships that can be built at Ramta is limited by the possibilities of overland transportation. Another characteristic of the Ramta yard is that it belongs to a company that manufactures aircraft and consequently uses technologies applied in aircraft manufacture in shipbuilding. The Ramta ships are produced from welded aluminum.

The size of the "Dvora" boat is 52 tons, it is 21.6 ms long, serves as a high-speed patrol boat and can be offered in three configurations: as a missile boat with two Gabriel launchers and equipped with the necessary fire-control installations and a 20-mm cannon. Equipped this way, the "Dvora" is the smallest missile boat in the world. In fact, the speed of 33 knots and its good sea qualities give the "Dvora" the possibility of serving in flotillas of conventionally armed ships as a missile launching platform. The other configurations of the "Dvora" class are those of a gunboat to support naval or combined operations or equipped as a patrol boat for coastal surveillance or police or customs duties. Since the boats can be transported easily across country on trucks, they can also be operated on inland waters.

The "Dabur" is smaller than the "Dvora" and, as a result, it is used primarily as a high-speed coastal patrol boat with good seagoing qualities and fire-power. It has a speed of 25 knots and is powered by a diesel engine. The standard armament consists of 50- and 20-mm cannon.

The "Shapirit" is Ramta's third patrol boat, which is produced as a high-speed coastal boat or a river patrol boat with a speed of 28.5 knots or as a small troop transporter. The "Shapirit" can operate in very shallow waters and carry up to 20 men, who can be disembarked for patrol service or commando raids.

All three types of Ramta boats are in service with the Israeli navy and are also be supplied to foreign navies. The "Dabur" is the primary combat capability of Israeli coastal security, whose job is to prevent infiltrations and violations of the long Israeli coastline. Since the boats can be used under practically all conditions, the "Dabur" units help to limit the far more costly use of the "Saar" boats.

Weapons Systems

The sensors and weapons systems that are produced in Israel can be divided into different groups: missiles and weapons, navigational equipment, radar sets, fire control installations and early warning and security systems. The best known naval system that was produced in Israel is certainly the Gabriel missile system from I.A.I., which does not require any further explanation. Gabriel was the first sea-skimmer missile in the West, when it became

operationally ready in the late 1960's. Equipped with a semisensitive target seeking warhead, the first version, Gabriel I, was used successfully by the Israeli navy in the Yom Kippur war. But in combat with the Soviet "Styx" missiles its range was inadequate, and so I.A.I. developed an improved version with greater range, the Gabriel II.

The Gabriel III

Based on the combat experience of the Israeli navy and as an answer to the new early warning dangers, a third generation Gabriel III was developed. Its main characteristic is its use in three forms: in the "fire-and-forget" version, the missile seeks out its target itself, without receiving any additional data after launching. In the "fire-and-update" version, the target data can be brought up to date by means of a data link during the missile's flight. This increases the certainty of target acquisition and the probability of a hit. A third possibility is the "fire-and-control" mode, in which the missile is guided in flight by the ship's fire control radar, which increases the precision of target designation. Both the methods of fire control during the missile's flight reduce its susceptibility to ECM on the part of the enemy and make it possible to guide it to a target beyond the horizon if the target cannot be seen optically from the ship's location.

The Gabriel system is supplied as an integrated system by I.A.I. and includes the search and fire control radar sets, the target designation and the data link system and the launcher. The system can be installed on practically any ship in existence, and other weapons systems on the ship can be hooked up to the Gabriel fire control system. A lightweight Compact Gabriel System has been designed for very small vessels.

The Close-Range Defense System "Barak 1"

Another important naval weapons system is the close-range missile defense system "Barak 1," which can be used against sea-skimmer missiles and low-flying attack aircraft. The system is still under development, and three versions of its guidance system are planned: semiactive, optical and electro-optical. Consideration is also being given to using the complicated vertical launching system, which in future wars can make great fire power and a large number of simultaneously launched missiles available, if it is necessary to counteract a concentrated attack by enemy missiles, aircraft or air-to-ship missiles. But a system of this kind would require a large number of space-consuming conventional launchers for the missiles, for which no space can be found on the decks of the relatively small Israeli vessels.

For this reason, the "Barak 1" is a lightweight missile with multistage propulsion, which lifts the missile vertically into the air above the launch platform and aligns it in the correct direction for the designated target with the help of a servo mechanism, in accordance with the order from the fire control system. The critical point is the rotation of the missile with a very high G-acceleration. As soon as the missile has been brought into the horizontal and the correct direction, it flies to its target at supersonic speed. The alternative guidance systems, command line of sight and electro-optical

sensors are there to counteract enemy ECM measure and early warning measures. Another important quality of the "Barak" is its ballistic characteristics. The missile has an unusually large warhead and an "intelligent" proximity fuse which ensures the destruction of the target even if it does not suffer a direct hit.

The "Barak" system is not yet operationally ready and is being developed as a joint project of the Rafael Armament Development Authority, the Ministry of Defense and I.A.I.

Radar Sets

Ships radar sets are one of the most important activities of the Israeli electronics industry. Most of the electronics systems on the navy's ships are of the Israelis own design.

The ships radar sets are produced at Elta Electronics Industries Ltd., a sub-operation of I.A.I. The current generation of naval radar sets are the medium S-Band EL/M-2207 and the high-power dual-band DL/M-2208. Both of them are multipurpose radar sets for ships for surveillance, early warning, target acquisition and navigation. These systems are easily built and compact and consequently can be used in small vessels such as the small guided missile boats.

Elta developed the Automatic Missile Detection Radar (AMDR) as a result of the operational requirements of the Israeli navy for a monitoring and search radar that can also detect low-flying sea-skimmer guided missiles. This is an S-band pulse doppler radar that sounds an automatic alarm for approaching missiles with a diameter of 0.1 m up to a distance of 15 kms. The AMDR can track up to 20 targets with a speed of between Mach 0.3 and Mach 3.0 and transmit the data in real time to the ECM installations, the fire control and the command control systems for a rapid reaction. The AMDR can be combined with the existing antennae and display equipment.

Another Elta radar is the type EL/M-2221, an X-band monopulse fire control radar for gun and missile control. Its modified version is the radar for the "Barak 1" close range defense system.

Early Warning Systems

A high degree of sensitivity on the part of the Israeli navy towards the threat from missiles can be ascribed to the almost traumatic experience with the loss of the destroyer "Eilat," which was attacked in 1968, shortly after the 6-day war, by Egyptian small missile boats, which fired four "Styx" missiles and sank the Israeli destroyer, with the loss of 47 crew members. Clearly the "Eilat" had no early warning and detection systems for sea-skimmer missiles on board. Since then, high priority has been given within the Israeli navy to equipping ships with antimissile defense systems, including ECM.

In the Yom Kippur war of 1973, the Israeli navy was involved several times in combat with enemy small missile boats, and it is said that 50 "Styx" sea-

skimmer guided missiles were launched by the Egyptian and Syrian boats against the Israeli "Saar" boats. Not one of these missiles ever hit an Israeli ship. The Israeli navy has clearly learned its lesson from the "Eilat" disaster. Passive and active ECM installations probably played a substantial role in these battles.

The naval ECM and early warning systems are produced in Israel primarily by three manufacturers: Elta Electronics (which was already mentioned in conjunction with the radar set), Elisra Electronic Systems Ltd., with a strong naval early warning division and Elbit Computers Ltd., which integrates the early warning systems and the command and control systems on the boats.

Elta Electronics produces the EC/S-8300 ECM equipment for detecting and tracking enemy intelligence links. The "EB" family of decoy and jamming equipment is the active part. All the parts have to be connected with the command and control installations on the boat and can also be hooked up to the chaff sub-systems.

Elisa Electronics Systems (a subsidiary of the U.S. AEL Corporation) offers three different early warning systems for boats, which differ in their performance and their prices. NS-9009 is an inexpensive compact ECM system with automatic output for small ships. It gives the commanding officer audiovisual alarms for the identification of preprogrammed danger signals. The system can be combined with active countermeasure systems such as chaff and others. An improved version in the NS-9001 system, which is an electronic intelligence system for automatic high-speed detection and analysis of radar emissions and can be installed in all types of ships.

The NS-9010 is an automatic naval ECM system for all types of ships. It spots, identifies and sorts all radar emissions from below the horizon and can be integrated into a fully integrated early warning and active ECM system.

Elbit Computers Ltd. produces the Timnex ELINT/ECM system and ACDS (Automatic Countermeasures Dispensing System).

The chaff rockets of the Rafael Armament Development Authority are also part of the early warning area. The SRCR (Short Range Chaff Rocket) is a radar decoy system for the all-round defense of the boat. The missile is launched from a six-tube launcher, which is set up on the ship's deck, and throws out a cloud of chaff which diverts antiship guided missiles with radar homing heads during the search and target acquisition phase. The LRCR (Long Range Chaff Rocket) is launched from a twin launcher and is a system designed to deceive search radar, producing false radar echoes on the screens of the enemy unit.

Passive Target Acquisition

El Op (Electroptics Industries Ltd.) recently announced a passive target acquisition system for long distances against antiship missiles and for low-flying aircraft. The system, which is named Spirtas (Shipboard Passive Infrared Target Acquisition System), is based on thermal imaging technology and is

is very probably the first operationally ready naval system of this kind. The Spirtas, which carried the designation DS-35, has an infrared sensor which detects approaching missiles, aircraft and ships by their infrared signatures, which are displayed on a screen, including direction and other data to the target.

Command, Control & Communications

Israeli industry has developed various naval C³ systems. Elbit Computers Ltd. manufactures the NTCCS (Naval Tactical Command & Control System), which processes information from its own ships and other sources and produces real-time color displays on the screens, sets up navigational calculations, sends out signals and analyzes incoming signals. Another C³ system is "Reshet," a tactical command system for boats, which was developed by MBT Weapons Systems, a division of the "Electronic Division" of I.A.I. "Reshet" provides a picture of tactical situations--based on all available information. Reshet contains two subsystems--TADS (Target Acquisition and Designation System) and TDS (Tactical Display System).

In the area of transmitting intelligence, ECI (Electronics Corporation of Israel Ltd.) developed the MCCS-500 Naval Control and Communications System, which can monitor and direct all internal and external intelligence transmissions from and to the ship, during which it is remote controlled and can also key the particular channels according to priorities. Transmission security is also monitored by the system.

Simulators and Training Systems

Elbit Computers Ltd. has put various training systems at the navy's disposal for training purposes. The NTTC-3 (Naval Tactical Training Center--3rd generation) was developed from the practical operational experience of the Israeli navy. It is used to train officers and officer candidates in solving tactical problems and real combat conditions. A second piece of training equipment is manufactured by Elbit and is described as an Anti-Submarine Warfare Trainer for ships crews and officers.

The Belgian navy recently installed a Procedural Combat Information Training Center, which is also manufactured by Elbit. It is a simulator for ship control centers and can train officers and candidates in the operational procedures of a ships control center and changing combat conditions. Elbit also produces early warning simulators for naval purposes.

I.A.I. developed a Gabriel Weapon System Trainer, which can simulate missile battles at sea trains the missile operating crews in the use of the system under combat conditions.

Fire Protection on Board Ship

The most recent type of fire extinguishing systems are produced by Spectronix Ltd. The systems are constructed on the basis of fire suppression by Halon 103 gas, and the system includes an automatic ultra-quick detection and discharge system for the gas.

Combat Experience and Manufacturers' Cooperation with the User

To conclude this report on the Israeli naval shipbuilding industry, some of the advantages from which the industry can profit should also be mentioned. The constant military tension between Israel and its neighbors demands a never ending watchfulness from the armed forces, and the constant confrontation using the newest weapons from the West and the East, which are in the hands of Israel's enemies, requires a high degree of readiness and great skill on the part of the crews and operating personnel of the Israeli units, all of which experience benefits the industry.

The armed forces do not accept any compromise with respect to quality in their relationships with the domestic industry and they always demand the most effective solutions, both for the simple operation of the equipment by the soldier in the field as well as on board a ship.

As a return service, the armed forces make their experiences in combat available as a return service in the form of feedback concerning the field performance of the equipment supplied. In this way, the industry can convert the users' experience into short-term improvements without delay. The information acquired, of course, enriches the general knowhow of the industry, and this is channeled back into future developments.

Thus the demands for high quality on the part of the user on the one hand, and information from the field of combat on the other hand set the standards for the Israeli arms industry and its products, which are enjoying recognition in the entire world as a result of their high standard.

9581

CSO: 4620/57

BRIEFS

SWISS DEMANDS FOR CURRENCY CONVERSION--Swiss banks have recently been asking the Bank of Israel to convert hundreds of millions of shekels in their possession to foreign currency. In just 2 weeks \$300,000 worth of shekels were presented for conversion. The source of the shekels presented for conversion by the Swiss banks to the Bank of Israel is shekel exchanges by foreign tourists abroad. Until now an Israel going abroad was allowed to take \$2,000 worth of shekels with him. It turned out that in many cases the shekels were for conversion to foreign currency abroad, and this was sometimes in addition to the official allocation. In a number of banks abroad, and particularly in branches of Israeli banks, Israeli currency is converted to foreign currency at a compromise rate between the official rate and the black market rate. Within the framework of the new instructions, the sum which an Israeli resident may take with him in shekels when leaving the country is limited to just \$50. That sum is enough to meet port expenses or cover a purchase on the plane. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 29 Jul 84 p 5] 9794

CSO: 4423/70

DIPLOMATS SAY SOVIETS KILL 29 FLEEING AFGHANS

Penang THE STAR in English 22 Aug 84 p 12

[Text] Islamabad, Tues--Soviet airborne troops killed at least 29 Afghans fleeing to Pakistan in retaliation for a guerilla attack on soldiers in eastern Afghanistan, western diplomats and Afghan exiles said today.

They said the troops landed in helicopters near Kama, a village about 40 km from the Pakistani border, rounded up women, children and old men and killed them on August 5.

The exiles also spoke of larger attacks on civilians but the diplomats could not confirm them.

The diplomats, citing reports from the Afghan capital, also said several Soviet army camps set up in the Panjsheer Valley north of Kabul after a big offensive this spring must now be supplied by air because of increasing rebel attacks.

The Afghan exiles, speaking from Peshawar, said the refugees killed by the Soviet troops were fleeing fighting in the north and had come within eight km of the border when they were ambushed.

The attack was apparently meant to avenge a rebel strike on a Soviet army construction site the previous day.

The exiles also said reports were reaching Peshawar of a Soviet attack on a wedding party in Anbarkhana village near Jalalabad on August 14 in which dozens of Afghans were said to have been killed.

The diplomats said Panjsheer Valley commander Ahmad Shah Masood appeared to be having some success with his strategy of isolating individual Soviet camps and some now had to be supplied by air.

A team of Agriculture Ministry officials visiting the valley, which Soviet troops seized in a massive spring offensive, lost two members when guerillas attacked it in early August.

The diplomats said Soviet troops appeared to be actively pursuing a scorched earth policy in the valley, destroying its economic base to prevent Masood making it an effective stronghold again.--Reuter.

CSO: 4600/767

AFGHAN FIGHTERS REPORTEDLY BACK TO CONTROL PANJSHER

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Sep 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] New Delhi, (Dispatches)--Afghan guerillas virtually control parts of Panjshir Valley just months after Soviet forces fought to gain control of the strategic area, Western diplomats said yesterday.

The report came as the government, frustrated in its attempts to repopulate the Panjshir with its former residents, turns to resettling Afghans from other parts of the country in the valley, the sources said.

The Afghan government asked non-Panjshir settlers to camp around military garrisons "to serve as a buffer zone between troops and the guerillas," but the new arrivals refused, a diplomat said.

Afghan guerillas have increased attacks on military outposts and mined roads, taking control of areas in the 70-miles (120km) long valley, the diplomats said.

More than 100,000 Moslem guerillas are fighting the Soviet-backed Afghan government and an estimated 105,000 Soviet occupation troops. The guerillas used the Panjshir as a staging area for guerilla attacks on vital Soviet supply lines.

A mainly Soviet offense of about 15,000 men supported by 400 to 600 tanks assaulted the valley April 21 forcing guerillas holding the area to higher ground.

Since then, Soviet forces have maintained strong control of the mouth of the valley but the guerillas have gradually returned to inner portions making "regular hit and run attacks," a diplomat said.

"The upper Panjshir from Khenj to the Anjoan Pass seems to be virtually in the hands of Mujahideen," a diplomat said.

"The Soviets are now limited to helicopter reconnaissance in tacit recognition that Masood will probably hold the region through the winter," the Western diplomat said.

In the valley last week, guerillas shelled the new Soviet helicopter pad at Bazarak, attacked the garrison at Rokha and mined the road to Khenj, destroying armed personnel carriers and causing casualties, the sources said.

BRIEFS

SOVIET-AFGHAN POSTS HIT BY MUJAHIDIN--New Delhi (IRNA)--Afghan Moslem Mujahideen have conducted successful raids on 12 positions of combined government and Soviet forces inflicting heavy damages and casualties on them. The Mujahideen in Afghanistan have adopted new combat tactics greatly demoralising the occupying Soviet forces in Kabul and elsewhere throughout Afghanistan. In Assrubi, south of Kabul instances of power shortages have been very frequent in the wake of raids by Afghan Mujahideen on a power plant there. Elsewhere in Balkh, in the north of Afghanistan fresh battles are in progress between Mujahideen and the occupying Soviet army. In recent battles between Afghan guerillas and the government forces four Soviet-made helicopters were downed over Shugra in Balkh Province. Reports reaching here say also that Afghan Moslem guerillas have also killed Dad-Mohammad, a member of the so-called Paydar-Vatan Front which claims to have nationalistic and patriotic goals. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Sep 84 p 1]

MUJAHIDIN INCREASE ATTACKS--New Delhi (IRNA)--Afghan Moslem Mujahideen attacked Soviet forces in the Panjsher valley last week and destroyed a large ammunition dump. Witnesses said explosions and fire from the depot lasted for two days. Reports reaching there say that the Mujahideen also attacked Soviet tanks column south of Kabul. Meanwhile, efforts by the Soviet backed Kabul regime to restore power lines leading to the capital failed despite the use of helicopters in its operations. Reports also said the explosion at the Kabul airport last week left one Soviet general and 18 other advisors dead. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 11 Sep 84 p 1]

CSO: 4600/765

PRC REPORTED TO TAKE CONTRADICTIONARY STAND ON KASHMIR

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Aug 84 p 9

[Text] Beijing, Aug 30--The Chinese official media have again chosen to refer to parts of the Pakistan occupied Kashmir as parts of Pakistan, though Beijing insists that its stand on Kashmir remains unchanged, reports PTI.

The latest instance of such contradiction came a couple of weeks ago, when the official media reported the conclusion of a new border trade agreement for the exchange of goods between merchants in Pakistan's northern areas and China's Xinjiang Ulghur autonomous region.

While New Delhi's reaction to this reference is not yet known, it is understood to have pointed out to the Chinese authorities in the past that such references to parts of the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as parts of Pakistan was contrary to China's own stand on Kashmir.

But Beijing has not entertained such suggestions saying that similar media references in the past were only in the context of trade and that there was no change in China's stand that the final status of Jammu and Kashmir ought to be determined through peaceful consultations between India and Pakistan.

Pakistani maps show Gilgit, Hunza and Skard in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as northern areas separate from the so-called "Azad Kashmir," which Islamabad acknowledges as disputed territory but the Chinese maps do not show any part of the occupied Kashmir as the territory of Pakistan.

They depict Jammu and Kashmir as one whole, cut by a cease-fire line between India and Pakistan with the territory to the north marked as area actually controlled by Pakistan and that to the south as area actually controlled by India.

Even the 1963 Sino-Pak border agreement, which involved certain areas of the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, specifically took note of the Chinese stand that the final status of Jammu and Kashmir was yet to be determined.

Just a week before the publication of the report regarding what the Chinese media called the Pakistan-Xinjiang trade pact, the weekly Liaowang (Outlook) carried a long article making oblique references to parts of the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as Pakistani territory.

CPI-M LEADER ISSUES STATEMENT ON 25 AUG 'SUCCESS'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Aug 84 p 6

[Text]

CPI-M general secretary E M S Namboodiripad has ruled out the possibility of a "Janata-type" electoral adjustment among the opposition parties in the coming Lok Sabha elections. In a statement released in New Delhi on Tuesday he has stated, "It seems clear that whatever alliances, understandings, adjustment of seats are to be made (they) will not have an all-India character as they did in 1977".

While reviewing the growth of Opposition unity in view of the 25 August protest day observed by the opposition parties, the Marxist leader said that it could have been more successful had it not been for the hesitation on the part of the National Campaign Committee and the coordination committee of the opposition parties.

Mr Namboodiripad observed that the Opposition leaders underestimated the extent of "discontent and militancy" among people against the Congress-I.

He ridiculed the charge that the "Opposition is in a shambles" and its sole aim is to bring down the ruling party. The fact that despite inadequate mobilisation for 25 August, there

were State-wide bandhs in West Bengal, Tripura, Jammu and Kashmir and five southern States, together with countrywide rallies, disproves it, he said.

The working class had rallied itself behind the opposition parties in their resistance to 'authoritarianism' as showed by the rallies and demonstrations it organised on 25 August, Mr Namboodiripad said.

This "heartening" development showed that despite various differences among them, the opposition parties were unanimous that united resistance should be put to the Congress-I.

Reiterating that the CPI-M's ultimate objective is to bring about a unity of left and democratic forces, Mr Namboodiripad said that this unity is not only for electoral purposes, but to forge a "fighting alliance" of the forces to score economic and political advances and to isolate the "reactionary forces" in the country.

The Marxist leader has also underscored the growing understanding among the opposition parties as evidenced in their joint protest against the toppling of non-Congress-I governments in Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh.

CSO: 3400/1157

INTERVIEW WITH CPI-M GENERAL SECRETARY NAMBOODIRIPAD

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 Aug 84 p 2

[Interview with E.M.S. Namboodiripad, CPI(M) general secretary, by Rita Manchanda]

[Text]

Q: *Why is the Left Front losing its hold in West Bengal?*

A: Only a very superficial observer will argue that the Left Front in West Bengal is "losing its hold." Anybody can see from the huge rallies and demonstrations organised by the Front and from other indicators of mass influence of a party or movement, that the Left Front continues to be a big force. The only thing that can be said is that it has not been able to make a big breakthrough in the mass base of the anti-Left parties.

Q: *Do you think that on the Assam question, the CPI(M) is getting increasingly isolated from all other Opposition parties and the ruling party at the Centre agreeing on 1971 as the cut off year? Moreover, do you not see a contradiction between the Marxist position on the nationality question and the party's stand in Assam?*

A: The Marxist position on nationalities in relation to India is that while the central question is one of the struggle of the Indian people against imperialism (which continues in new forms after 1947) the anti-imperialist unity should be integrated with the national aspirations of various linguistic cultural communities. These often have definite areas and states.

A corollary of this is that the party of the proletariat and of

other democratic forces has to fight the divisive forces, one of which revolves around the "sons of the soil" slogan. The Assam movement against the non-Assamese speaking people who are described as "foreigners" is a variety of this sons of the soil movement.

Other parties like the CPI, the Congress(S) and others who until now had opposed the Assam movement, have now reconciled themselves to the position of the Assam agitators and agreed to have the 1971 voters list as the basis for elections.

Q: *As regards the new front that has been proposed, Mr Sharad Pawar (Congress-S) has said that electoral or seat arrangements will be made with both the Left and possibly the BJP. Will this be acceptable to the CPI(M)? There also appears to be substantive differences between the position taken by Mr Charan Singh and the CPI(M) on Art. 370 and Punjab?*

A: I do not know what "new front" here means. So far as the CPI(M) and, I presume, other Left parties are concerned we take our independent positions and try to unite all the Left and other parties on the basis of the programme enunciated in the Delhi declaration and the charter of demands formulated in Calcutta. Our party fights on the basis of its own independent

class policies. We are, however, prepared to join others in trying to defeat the Congress(I) and to isolate casteist, communal and other divisive forces dangerous to Indian unity.

Q: What do you see as the principal task in Punjab, fighting Sikh communalism or Mrs Gandhi? Mr Harkrishen Singh Surjeet in an interview to Sunday said that the party had made a big mistake in not opposing communalism from the very beginning.

Further, the CPI(M) has called upon the Akalis to accept certain pre-conditions and join the Left and democratic front. Why is it left to the Congress(I) to speak out against communal parties? In Punjab the question is not one of minority but majority communalism.

A: The principal question in the Punjab is the unity of the people of Punjab—Hindus and Sikhs among themselves and with the democratic forces of the entire country. There are two obstacles in the way of solving this principal question. Firstly, there is the anti-democratic and anti-national stand of the ruling party which keeps the pot of Hindu-Sikh tension boiling by refusing to concede the democratic demands raised by the Akali Dal. Secondly, there is the stand adopted by the Akali Dal which mixes up religion and politics projecting even secular demands like Chandigarh and Centre-state relations as Sikh demands. They fail to also distinguish themselves from

the terrorist methods of the Bhindranwale extremists.

Our party has sought consistently to overcome these two obstacles, though at times, admittedly, there may have been some failure in the fight against this or that obstacle.

Q: You have accused Jawaharlal Nehru of having touched the lowest point in his career in 1959 when during the Kerala elections after the dismissal of the communist government there, the Congress joined hands with the Muslim League, the Christian church, the Nair Society and other casteist organisations. Did you not also join hands with the Muslim League in 1965 and again now with a faction of the Muslim League? Essentially, what is your position on communal parties?

A: There are two differences between the Congress and the communists in dealing with the Muslim League and other such divisive forces. The Congress is a party which from the position of undisputed leadership of the freedom movement has in the post-Independence years been steadily declining in mass influence. To compensate this and to meet the threat of communism, the Congress forged an alliance in Kerala with the Muslim League and now has gone to the lengths of politically allying with the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, the TUJS in Tripura. The Communist party on the other hand, was a very small force in the pre-Independence years but has since been steadily advancing.

Out of this difference between the rapidly declining and a steadily growing political force stems the other distinction. The Congress in its desperate bid to remain in power is willing to make even policy compromises with these divisive forces. An example is the Indian Union Muslim League which, except in Kerala, is adopting an anti-Congress(I) stand everywhere. It joined the rest of the Opposition to protest against the dismissal of the Farooq Abdullah government. In contrast, the Communist Party has never abandoned its class and democratic positions as is evident from the hostility shown by these forces towards the party. It has been on rare occasions and that too with the distinct understanding that these parties would not object to the ideological, political and organisational activities of the Communist Party that political alliances have been worked out with say, the Muslim League.

Q: There appears to be considerable resentment at the reported claim that unless the Bihar CPI gives three seats in the state to the CPI(M), there will be no reciprocal allocation of three seats to the CPI in West Bengal, including the Midnapore seat.

A: I am sure that differences between the two parties, as well as between the communist parties on the one hand and the secular democratic opposition parties on the other, will be resolved through mutual discussion.

CPI-ML LEADER TALKS TO PRESS IN CALCUTTA

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Mr Satya Narain Singh, CPI(M-L) leader, described Mrs Gandhi as the "greatest danger to the nominal democracy that we have in our country" and, therefore, the Naxalites were "keenly interested in seeing the entire Opposition forge a broad-based united front against her."

Speaking to reporters in Calcutta on Friday, Mr Singh said that if need be, the Opposition could come to terms with the BJP to defeat Mrs Gandhi. He said the BJP was not in a position "to rule India singly" and, therefore, the Opposition parties could forge an alliance with that party, taking care of its communal approach at the same time.

Mr Singh made it clear that his party would participate in the Lok Sabha election and contest seats in those States "where we are strong." He said his party would contest seats in West Bengal, Bihar and Delhi. Asked why his party was going in for parliamentary democracy which was contrary to the Naxalite ideology, Mr Singh said that his party needed a national platform to preach its ideology. He said the idea of an armed revolution would have to be consistently hammered into the people's mind through participation in parliamentary proceedings because without it, the country would not be able to bring about a socio-economic change.

He said the day was not far off when "a single genuine" Naxalite party would be formed at the national level. Various Naxalite groups would be represented in the party. These groups would, however, maintain their independent entities. The national party would take decisions on the basis of unanimity and as a matter of policy would oppose revisionism and individual terrorism.

CSO: 4600/1161

CONGRESS-I CONTROVERSY OVER PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

Proposal to Dinner Guests

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 29 Aug 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 28--The Congress(I) was plunged today into a controversy--one section advocating a presidential form of Government and the other vehemently opposing it and accusing the former of seeking "to create confusion and uncertainty in the country."

Nearly 50 Congress(I) MPs were guests at a dinner organized last night at Parliament House Annexe, where Mr Vasant Sathe's proposal of a presidential form of Government, which he has already put down in a book, was circulated among the members.

A cyclostyled note, embodying Mr Sathe's thesis, pleaded the need, in the present political situation in the country, for "electing the national Chief Executive by the entire people of the country."

Mr Sathe's note pleaded that the change "could easily be brought about in terms of Article 368 of the Constitution. Moreover, an amendment of Article 368 might involve amendments to Articles 54 and 55, which is what is being contemplated in this entire discussion."

Mr Sathe's note asked for a nationwide debate on the subject, though the MPs did not actually launch into a full-scale debate on the occasion.

Among those present at the dinner were MR Sat Paul Mittal, Mr A.P. Sharma, Mr Kalpnath Rai, Mr J.K. Jain, Mr K. Lakkappa, Mrs Najma Heptullah, Mr P.N. Sukul, Mr N.K. Bhatt, Mr B.P. Maurya, Mr Darbara Singh and Mr Sathe himself.

Reacting to the events of last night, other Congress(I) MPs today issued a strongly-worded statement saying "Mr Sathe's reiteration of his quixotic thesis about presidential form of Government and his prophecies about a spell of instability at the Centre following the forthcoming parliamentary elections seems to be prompted by purely personal predilections and predicament rather than objective assessment of the prevailing socio-political milieu in the country."

The statement was signed by Mr K.K. Tewary, Mr N.K. Sharma, Mr R.L. Bhatia, Mr Anand Sharma, Mr S. Sibte Razi and Mr Zainul Basher.

The statement said "it is unfortunate that Mr Sathe should have chosen this opportunity to hawk around his half-baked intellectual acrobatics at a time when the Opposition slander campaign has reached its crescendo with the sole motive of tarnishing the image of Mrs Gandhi and undermining the freedom and the integrity of the country." "Most of the MPs who attended the dinner where Mr Sathe pontificated on his life's enterprise had no inkling of his determination to take them for a ride," it said.

The signatories said they "firmly deprecated Mr Sathe's unauthorized and frivolous pronouncements which will only provide the much-needed grist to the propaganda mill of the Opposition and their mentors abroad to create further confusion and uncertainty in the country."

Rajya Sabha

Opposition members in the Rajya Sabha today expressed concern over a reported move in the ruling party to switch over to the presidential system and demanded that the Government clarify its stand.

The leader of the House, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, said that the issue was being debated for quite some time. But, he did not think it was relevant to discuss something "which does not exist." It was not relevant, Mr Mukherjee observed, to take note of what had been discussed in private conversations and meetings. After all, there was a set procedure for changing the Constitution, he pointed out.

The issue was raised by Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M) who referred to two stories in a local newspaper and said that they were "ominous." Mr Ghosh said it meant that the ruling party was considering ways to change into the "dictatorial system." The Constitution had already been amended to enforce emergency measures without actually resorting to the Emergency. He wanted the Prime Minister, the Home Minister or the Law Minister to clarify the position. The Home Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, who was present quipped: "There is no law and order situation arising."

Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy (Janata) said that confusion was being created by the ruling party. He wanted the Prime Minister to assure the House that the Lok Sabha elections would be held on schedule.

Our Special Representative in Calcutta adds: The Central Congress (I) leadership is now receiving from different quarters opinions on the formation of a presidential form of Government in India. The matter is still in a nascent stage. The recent move by Mr Vasant Sathe to open a discussion on this issue is considered by some prominent legal experts in Calcutta as a step in this direction.

Although it is not clear if Mrs Gandhi has herself sounded such persons on this question, it is now known that some of them have on their own offered suggestions. Among them is an eminent lawyer in Calcutta.

The lawyer, it is learnt, is now in Paris to attend a jurisprudence seminar sponsored by the U.N. But it is also one of his missions to study the presidential form of Government now existing in France. He is expected to meet French constitutional experts. He might visit some other European countries in this connexion.

Referring to the recent dinner party thrown by Mr Vasant Sathe at the Parliament House Annexe where he had distributed a six-page note on the presidential form of Government for discussion among some Congress (I) MPs, a prominent state Congress(I) leader said on Tuesday "we are completely in the dark."

Text of Sathe Paper

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Aug 84 p 4

[Text]

It is good that a debate has started on this question and people are coming forward with their views. One, however, feels that the views expressed by leaders of political parties or public men are their gut reactions to this question, and are not their considered views. Probably, the question has not been posed in a correct perspective and context. As one who has initiated this discussion,

I think it would be appropriate to put the formulations in their proper perspective so as to facilitate a healthy and dispassionate debate.

It is of utmost importance to first consider the national scene so as to find out if there is any need for a change or modification in our Constitution. The next question would be whether such a change could be brought about within the framework of our existing Constitution.

As to the national scene, the very concept of nationhood of India in the modern sense of a political entity is of comparatively recent origin. Any threat to this concept, whether regional, parochial, linguistic or communal urges, can prove disastrous to the very concept of our nation, and national integrity and unity will be in serious jeopardy.

The apprehension is no longer imaginary because it is on cards for every one to see that in the forthcoming elections to Parliament, the likelihood is that no single party, including the Congress-I, may emerge with an

absolute majority. The divisive and fissiparous forces that have been raising their ugly head have already shown their fangs, and it is only an utterly complacent or naive person who can close his eyes to this reality.

It will, therefore, be foolhardy to think that we can afford to experiment with coalitions at the national level. One can easily imagine how a coalition with a slender majority would be able to tackle problems like that of terrorists and subversion in Punjab.

Today, because the government at the Centre has such a huge and clear mandate of the sanction of people and also because our Army has a certain tradition of national discipline and willing acceptance of civilian authority that stability and security is assured. But once civilian authority at the national level gets eroded and we have to rely again and again on the army for internal administration of law and order, it would be a signal for the collapse of democratic structure itself.

It is also clear that no army can hold this subcontinent together as a nation at the point of a gun. Thus, the very integrity and unity of the country will get threatened. We will then open our gates once again to new colonial powers to have their pockets of influence in India. We know from the experience of our neighbours and other countries in Asia that such a derailment from democracy can take place in quick succession.

The issue, therefore, is not whether we should have parliamentary form or presidential form, but whether within the framework of our present Constitution, we can have a provision whereby we could ensure stability of the government at the national level.

Once we start arguing whether we should have a presidential form or not, we then ask ourselves whether it should be the American or the French variety, and then get into the examination of those two systems and, thus, invariably land ourselves in a barren debate. We have had enough experience now of the working of our own Constitution to know what our weakness lies and how to go about to set it right. It is not necessary for us to find analogies or support from other systems.

It must be remembered that after Independence, the framers of our Constitution clearly visualised India as one nation and a democratic republic. The very preamble of our Constitution makes this clear. It has been clearly stated that the objective was to establish a "sovereign socialist secular democratic republic" and to secure to all its citizens justice, liberty, equality and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation.

Having resolved to constitute India as a nation, the framers of the Constitution also provided for a democratic pattern. It is pertinent to note that the words "parliamentary democracy" are not mentioned anywhere in the Constitution. However, for the sake of clarity of understanding, one can say that the framers of the Constitution visualised three major wings of democracy, namely, legislature, executive and the judiciary, and assigned to them distinct functions.

Under this system they thought of a parliament consisting of two houses, namely, the House of People and the Council of States. The House of People was to consist of Members of Parliament elected by their respective constituencies, and the Council of States is to consist of representatives elected indirectly by the members of the State legislatures as well as Members of Parliament.

As for the executive, the head of State in whose name all executive actions are to take place is the President who appoints his Council of Ministers with Prime Minister at the head, to aid and advise him.

In terms of the constitutional provisions, it is only by convention that the leader of the majority party is called upon to be the Prime Minister and head of the Council of Ministers, but there is no article or rule which makes this mandatory. It is because the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers are to be collectively responsible to the House of the People, and because a Minister has to be a Member of either House, that a system has been evolved in which Parliament exercises control over the executive. It is in this sense that we call our Constitution and government as one having parliamentary form.

Now, therefore, if the above essential features are kept intact, namely, that the executive shall remain collectively responsible to the House of People, then it would not be possible to allege or contend that the parliamentary form has been altered.

As long as there is a guarantee of a stable government at the national level, the present system of Parliament consisting of elected representatives from all over the country electing the leader of the majority as Prime Minister, can continue to function without much difficulty, as indeed it has for the last thirty years. The problem arises when one visualises a state of affairs at the national level where, in the absence of a clear-cut alternatives, a thin majority consisting of a coalition of more than one political party including regional parties, were to emerge at the national level.

It is clear that under such circumstances where every leader would want to be the Prime Minister, no government could be stable; defections would get encouraged and, unlike a situation where in case of any instability in States, a stable national government can intervene, it would become a precarious situation because there would be no popular authority to intervene in case of instability at the national level itself.

One thing about which everyone seems to be clear is that we want a democratic republican structure and on this we are not going to compromise. We also want that the supreme law-making body at the national level should be a parliament consisting of the elected representatives of the people which will ensure the republican character, and that the executive should be collectively responsible to this parliament.

Today, the President is, even in terms of our Constitution, the chief

executive under Article 53, and is elected under Article 54, indirectly, by an electoral college consisting of elected Members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected Members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. The point for consideration is whether he could be directly elected by the entire electorate of the country, subject to his securing more than 50 per cent of the votes cast.

With this single amendment and some other incidental amendments as may be necessary, we can retain all other essential features of the existing Constitution, including the collective responsibility of his Council of Ministers to Parliament, subject to a modification that every Minister may not be required to be a member of either House, etc. All other essential powers, including that of impeachment and those of the judiciary, could be retained with one essential change, namely, that the President thus elected with a mandate of clear majority of the entire people of India as head of the executive would not then depend on the vagaries of majority or minority in Parliament.

Thus, we will ensure the stability of the national government headed by a President directly elected by the people which will be even a more democratic way than the present indirect election, and yet we will retain all the essential and basic features of our present Constitution and its Parliament.

This one small but important change will have another salutary impact. It is the very essence of parliamentary democracy that it should provide clear-cut alternatives to the people in the form of political parties whereby they can make a clear choice of a political party which could give them a stable government. And bigger the nation which is an inherent federal character, greater the need for such clear-cut national alternatives.

Unfortunately, during the last 30 years such political alternatives have not emerged at the national level. And because it was not imperative, regional forces have grown and the one national party, that is, the Congress-I, has also eroded in its national impact. Once we have the need for electing the national chief executive by the entire people of the country, it will automatically become imperative to have political parties emerge on the national scene as a cohesive force. This will be a healthy development.

Another hopeful advantage in this change would be that, having secured stability of sovereign authority at the national level, we could then afford to give greater powers to the States for their economic growth because that would not have any tendency of threatening or weakening the national authority.

It would be better, therefore, if in a debate on this question we confine ourselves to the above parameter of the framework of our Constitution and to subserve the national interests of ensuring integrity and unity of our country in terms of the Preamble. One small matter that needs to be noted is that such a change is not a change in the basic features of our Constitution in terms of guidelines spelled out by the Supreme Court in the Keshavananda Bharati case.

This would not touch the basic elements of the constitutional structure as listed out by the Supreme Court, such as:

(1) The supremacy of the Constitution;

(2) Republican and democratic form of government and sovereignty of the country;

(3) Secular and federal character of the Constitution;

(4) Demarcation of power between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary;

(5) The dignity of the individual secured by the various freedoms and basic rights in Part III, and the mandate to build a welfare State contained in Part IV; and

(6) The unity and integrity of the nation.

As a matter of fact, this step would be conducive to ensuring the republican and democratic form of government, sovereignty of the country and the unity and integrity of the nation. This change, therefore, could easily be brought about in terms of Article 368 of the Constitution. Moreover, Article 368 in turn contemplates an amendment to Articles 54 and 55, which is what is being contemplated

in this entire discussion.

I would, therefore, plead with all concerned to enter into this debate in the light of the reasons given above. I would only plead that they should not allow their vision to be blurred by bringing in considerations of a personal factor because no Constitution can be limited to the life of any particular individual. It has always to be thought of in larger and longer perspective of the nation.

This is the text of Petroleum and Chemicals Minister Vasant Sathe's paper which he circulated at a dinner on Monday hosted by Mr Sat Paul Mittal, MP, for a select group of the Congress-I MPs. The paper has created an uproar in the Congress-I, provoking many members to assail Mr Sathe for "providing grist to the Opposition mill on the eve of the coming poll" and has left the Opposition intrigued.

Sathe Criticized

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 30--Commenting on the controversy over the presidential form of Government started by Mr Sathe, the AICC(I) general secretary, Mr M.C.L. Chandrakar, said today that his party would not initiate any debate on a change in the system of Government.

He said Mr Sathe was an individual and free to do that but the Congress(I) would have nothing to do with it.

"While the Congress(I) has its own views on the issue, in a democracy every individual is free to raise a debate on any subject," he said.

Mr K.K. Tiwari and five other Congress(I) MPs issued a statement today saying "Mr Sathe's rejoinder to our statement is worse than the original sin and betrays astounding naivete and casualness of approach."

The statement said Mr Sathe had committed another faux pas by reiterating his "highly subversive thesis" that the Congress(I) would not get the two-thirds majority in the forthcoming parliamentary elections necessary for any basic change in the statute, and therefore it should utilize its present position for a change in the form of Government.

The statement said: "In the first place, the Congress(I) under the leadership of Mrs Gandhi is all set to capture more than two-thirds of the seats in Parliament and belie all tendentious speculations of Mr Sathe whose highly

irresponsible utterances on the eve of the elections are doing irreparable damage to the party image and spreading confusion in our ranks.

"Without going into the merits and demerits of the two systems which are both democratic, we will only say that Mr Sathe has pedalled his wares to the market in the wrong season and will be well advised not to launch into the tantrums of an impatient adolescent."

Rajiv 'Hints' Reported

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 2 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Patna, Sept 1--The AICC(I) general secretary, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today hinted his party might opt for a changeover to the Presidential system of government after the general elections if there was a strong public mood in this favour.

Mr Gandhi told newsmen at the chief minister's residence that the party leadership was not thinking of a switchover at the moment but if the people wanted, the issue could be debated at various public forums. There was, however, no chance of such a debate before the elections, which he said would be held on schedule.

Mr Gandhi denied his support to the dinner meetings hosted by Mr Vasant Sathe to discuss and advocate the Presidential system.

Earlier, addressing a very poorly attended Momins' conference at the Gandhi maidan here, Mr Gandhi justified the dismissal of the Rama Rao government as it was not different from the way other state governments in the past were dismissed. All state government dismissals after Independence had been at the discretion of the governor and not after their strength was tested in the Assembly. "Moreover, Mr Rama Rao was in minority when the government was dismissed," Mr Gandhi said.

G.K. Reddy Comment

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

ALMOST every politician in India is haunted, at one time or the other, in one form or the other, by the spectre of a sudden loss of power or prestige, which is regarded more as a personal calamity than a mere setback in public life. It is the psychosomatic impact of this tormenting prospect that generates a gnawing feeling of insecurity, making this breed behave both irrationally and unpredictably in the face of a crisis or challenge to one's secure position in a party or government.

In a country where not many are prepared to sit in the opposition for a change, to vindicate the superiority of their views or validity

of their stand over issues of national importance, an average politician tends to insulate himself systematically from the harsh realities of public life. He is inclined to live in a bleak wonderland of his own, revelling in the fantasies of his power pursuits and nursing his over-reaching ambitions, as a captive of his illusions as well as frustrations, reflecting the incredible emptiness of the political atmosphere around him.

Sickening sycophancy

It is this suffocating climate of insecurity and uncertainty in Indian politics, where sickening sycophancy is equated with unflinching loyalty and meek compliance with principled support, that reduces even decent politicians into cynical time-servers who try to conceal their agonising feelings of disenchantment and resentment with an aura of abiding commitment to the prescribed party line. The arrogant, and often ignorant, assertions of uprightness of everything done in the name of the leader, or in anticipation of his or her wishes, take the astonishing form of mistaking dissent for defiance, even well-meaning criticism for disaffection.

In this make-believe world of Indian politics, a massive majority in Parliament or a State Assembly does not necessarily provide for the stability of a Central or State Government, nor make a Prime Minister or Chief Minister totally immune from the vagaries of party splits and defections. On the contrary, the Indian experience has been that large majorities are more unmanageable than narrow margins in keeping the ruling parties on the right track and alert all the time. The very thought of an approaching election has a deeply unsettling effect on the morale of those in power, because they are not too sure whether their slick tricks and easy promises are going to work again.

It is this psychology of insecurity that prompts many politicians to come forward with all kinds of excuses for putting off the evil day until the very last, if it could not be deferred much longer under any other pretext. The new slogan of some of them is to save democracy by changing the form of the government, by opting for a presidential pattern in preference to the present Cabinet system, by tampering with the Constitution.

A warm and affable person like Mr. Vasant Sathe, known for his noisy articulation of many half-baked ideas for ensuring the continuity of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's leadership, has revived this Quixotic proposal for ushering in a presidential system through a simple constitutional amendment by utilising the Congress (I)'s massive majority in Parliament before the Lok Sabha elections.

Many others have toyed with this not so novel an idea from time to time, in the name of either insulating Mrs. Gandhi's stewardship from the vagaries of the present parliamentary procedures, or investing her with more powers to provide for greater stability by freeing her from the obligations of accountability to Parliament for all the actions of her Government. But a member of her Cabinet has come forward for the first time with this advocacy creating some flutter by attempting to mobilise support

within the Congress (I) Parliamentary Party for ushering in this constitutional change on the eve of the elections.

A few months ago, Mr. Sathe had mooted this proposition in a book he wrote on India's political, economic and social problems, which did not set the Ganga on fire. He has, however, succeeded now in creating a storm in a tea cup by trying to reactivate the idea through dinner diplomacy, which has clearly misfired by giving the opposition an opportunity to cry wolf against alleged Congress (I) machinations. It has embarrassed the ruling party by giving the impression that the Congress (I) is looking around for excuses to put off the elections.

The Prime Minister herself was irked by this ill-timed move, not that she is opposed to the idea of a change in the pattern of government, but because it has given her critics an opportunity to spread the canard that she is out to prolong, if not perpetuate, her rule by changing the Constitution. It brought back ugly memories of what some zealots in her camp tried to do during the Emergency to put off elections indefinitely by converting Parliament into a constitutional assembly to restructure the Constitution.

The latest move sounded even more ominous because of Mr. Sathe's disingenuous advocacy that this radical change could be brought about through a simple amendment of the relevant articles of the Constitution dealing with the elections of the President and exercise of his powers, without going through the complex process of convening a Constituent Assembly for this purpose.

It was Mr. A. R. Antulay and the late Rajni Patel who first floated this idea of a Presidential system in 1976 during the Emergency, primarily to empower Mrs. Gandhi to include in her Cabinet persons who were not members, or did not want to be members of Parliament. A note prepared by them was circulated secretly among her confidants to elicit their reactions.

Sanjay Gandhi thought the idea was worth pursuing and allowed Mr. Bansi Lal to enlist the support of all Congress (I) Chief Ministers for converting the then Lok Sabha whose life had already been extended by two years into a Constituent Assembly to change the Constitution. The whole conspiracy was master-minded when she was away on a visit to Mauritius, Tanzania and Zambia with Mr. Bansi Lal who accompanied her on this trip using the hot lines to rally most of the Chief Ministers and Union Ministers behind this move to confront Mrs. Gandhi with a *fait accompli* her return to Delhi.

Frenzied advocacy

It was certainly to her credit that Mrs. Gandhi realised the grave dangers of letting these wild men a free run under the cover of Emergency before it became too late to restrain them. She brushed aside their advice and decided to go to the polls to gain legitimacy for her Government which had acquired by then all the overtones of extra-constitutionality bordering on a complete subversion of the parliamentary system. Though she lost the elections, she certainly enhanced her reputation by not

succumbing to the counsels of despair and imposing a virtual dictatorship on the country with bigger and bigger doses of authoritarianism.

But on her return to power after the Janata interregnum, Mrs. Gandhi allowed some tub-thumpers in her camp to resume the debate on the virtues of a Presidential form of government. The so-called All-India Lawyers Convention organised by the Congress (I) in Delhi set the ball rolling with a frenzied advocacy for scrapping the present Cabinet system. As Prime Minister, she saw no harm in letting the debate continue without openly identifying herself with it, but the campaign petered out due to the absence of any great enthusiasm in the country for this change-over to a new form of government.

A few months back a fresh study was initiated privately by some of Mrs. Gandhi's confidants to see whether it was feasible to change the basic structure of the Constitution in this fashion without running into a serious conflict with the Supreme Court. No responsible individual or institution has proffered any advice on how the hybrid form envisaged by the protagonists of the presidential system, combining some elements of the American and French constitutions with their own ideas on a hotch-potch of an executive President at the Centre, nominated Governors and Chief Ministers controlled by the party caucuses, could be an improvement on the present federal concept even if it was workable under Indian conditions.

Not much thought has been given by the promoters of the proposed change to the difficulty of the present President, Mr. Zail Singh, whose oath of office imposes on him the responsibility of preserving protecting and defending the Constitution and not giving his assent to any amendment enacted by Parliament undermining the very basis of it. Similarly, the Parliament itself which consists of the President and the two Houses is a creation of the present Constitution and it cannot convert itself into a Constituent Assembly through a resolution to change the basic structure of the very instrument or institution that has created it. The Supreme Court

cannot approve of any structural changes made in the Constitution, in terms of its own earlier judgments, by Parliament by using its amending powers to cut at the very roots of it.

Apart from these constitutional hurdles, the Prime Minister cannot afford to let the highly damaging impression prevail at the political level that she is dodging elections under the guise of altering the Constitution. The Opposition cannot be blamed if it exploits the public misgivings to create the feeling that she is bent on prolonging her personal rule by assuming more powers and dispensing with the existing checks and balances of the parliamentary system.

The cavalier fashion in which the pressure groups around her are propagating such far-reaching changes without paying due attention to the wider implications would be detrimental to her own interests in the long run. She cannot afford to let the ghost of this stunt which had been laid to rest several times be exhumed and resurrected on the eve of the impending parliamentary elections, without creating serious problems for herself in the bargain. She has to maintain a credible distinction between an animated and well-informed public debate on the pros and cons of the presidential and prime ministerial systems in a free and unfettered manner, and a clandestine and hasty bid by some crafty and diabolical elements to spring a surprise on the nation.

It is fatal for any group of individuals or a political party to develop the psychosis of fighting with its back to the wall, as it were, when the scope for positive action is wider and there is enough opportunity left for rekindling the spirit of the past with superior ideas and promises of better performance. There has to be some sense of well determined direction for avoiding the pitfalls of cross-purpose in the battle for the minds of the people. And this in short is the great challenge facing Mrs. Gandhi in setting her party in order by clearing the cobwebs of factionalism, influence-peddling and political manipulation that could cost the Congress (I) dearly, if she does not take preventive steps in good time before facing the people again.

EXTENSION OF PRESIDENT'S RULE IN SIKKIM WELCOMED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 31 Aug 84 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 30--Mr Nara Bahadur Bhandari, president of the Sikkim Sangram Parishad, and former Chief Minister, yesterday welcomed the extension of President's rule in the State by another six months in order to solve the problem of seat reservation in the State Assembly and other important issues during the intervening period.

He said in a statement that the Sikkim Sangram Parishad would have reacted strongly to the extension of President's rule in a peaceful State like Sikkim, if it were done for any other reason. In a democratic set-up only a popular Government can meet the hopes and aspirations of the people, he said.

He said that the people of Sikkim, "both in letter and spirit," endorsed the Governor. Mr Kona Prabhakar Rao's report to the Centre that discussion was going on regarding representation of different communities in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly and hence the desirability not to hold elections at its scheduled time, i.e. in October this year.

Mr Bhandari called this a "genuine endeavor on the part of the Centre" to solve the issue of seat reservation. He commended the initiative of the Governor.

The Sikkim Sangram Parishad, he said, hoped that the Centre would take it seriously and speedily enough to meet this demand of the Sikkimese people well in time so that the State Assembly elections were held simultaneously with the Lok Sabha elections. "How much we wished that the long-pending demands were met long ago to enable the people of Sikkim to elect their new Assembly on its due date," the ousted Chief Minister said.

He said the Sikkim Sangram Parishad would like to assure the Governor and the Centre that it would extend its fullest cooperation to expedite the process aimed at meeting this basic demand of seat reservation.

CSO: 4600/1158

ANALYST COMMENTS ON SWEARING-IN OF VICE PRESIDENT

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 31--The former Defence Minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, was today sworn in seventh Vice-President by the President, Mr Zail Singh, at a simple ceremony in the Ashoka Hall of the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The outgoing Vice-President, Mr M. Hidayatullah, the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, Cabinet Ministers, some members of Parliament, Service Chiefs and senior officials were present.

After the Home Secretary, Mr M.M.K. Wali, read out the official communication from the Election Commission, the President administered the oath of office which Mr Venkataraman took in English "to bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution as by law established."

The President's oath of office enjoins him to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," while the Vice-President is required only to bear "true faith and allegiance" to it. The Vice-President, who ranks next to the President in the warrant of precedence, does not automatically succeed the President in the event of his death, disability or resignation, but merely discharges the functions of the President until a successor is elected in due course.

The six distinguished persons who held the office of Vice-President in the past are Dr S. Radhakrishnan, Dr Zakir Hussain, Mr V.V. Giri, Mr G.S. Pathak, Mr B.D. Jatti and Mr M. Hidayatullah, out of whom two were elected Presidents. Mr Venkataraman has had an equally distinguished career.

The main function of the Vice-President is chairmanship of the Rajya Sabha, which entails the responsibility of conducting its legislative business with the help of a Deputy Chairman elected by the House. But the services of successive Vice-Presidents have been utilised by the Government for official visits to other countries, receiving and entertaining foreign dignitaries and representing India at the national days of foreign missions in Delhi.

Importance of office: The office of Vice-President has acquired added importance over the years depending on the personality of the incumbent and his relationship with the Prime Minister for utilising his knowledge and

experience. The first Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, used to be consulted by Nehru privately on many issues, while some of his successors were ignored by the Prime Ministers.

The importance of the office, therefore, depends on the capacity of the incumbent to inspire the necessary reassurance and encourage the Prime Minister to avail himself or herself of his experience. The confidence is created by the manner in which he is able to conduct the business of the Rajya Sabha without identifying himself too closely with the Government or adopting an unreasonable attitude towards the Opposition.

The new Vice-President is politically and temperamentally well qualified to play this delicate role discharging his duties fairly in an equitable manner by reflecting the true spirit of the Constitution.

PTI, UNI report:

Immediately after the swearing-in, lasting just over 10 minutes, Mr Hidayatullah and Mrs Gandhi warmly congratulated Mr Venkataraman.

Soon after assuming office, 74-year-old Mr Vankataraman said in an interview to AIR that he was very sensible of the great honour conferred on him. "It will be my endeavour to work for communal harmony and national integrity." He hoped that he would get the cooperation of all parties and the people in "this great task."

Mr Venkataraman, dressed in a grey suit, arrived at the Ashoka Hall, accompanied by his wife, five minutes before 10 a.m., time fixed for the ceremony.

Mr G.P.V. Raju, AICC (I) member greeted the new Vice-President with a garland of cardamoms. He garlanded Mr Zail Singh, Mr Hidayatullah and Mrs Gandhi with cardamoms.

CSO: 4600/1162

FOREIGN, DEFENSE MINISTRIES STUDY PAKISTAN INCURSIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 31--The External Affairs and Defence Ministries are examining from political and strategic angles the possible Pakistani motivations behind the latest series of border incursions in Jammu and Kashmir across the Line of Actual Control which has replaced the old cease-fire line under the Simla Agreement.

There have been three major incidents since April last involving casualties on the Pakistani side, leading to the conclusion that Islamabad would not be sacrificing the lives of its soldiers in a reckless manner unless the military regime in Pakistan had some political purpose behind it.

The first clash in this series took place in April in the vicinity of the Saichen glacier when Pakistan troops crossed the Line of Actual Control to enter the Nubra valley and stake claims to a strategic area from where they could pose a serious threat to India's lines of communication with its forward posts leading towards the Karakoram in Western Aksai Chin.

The second incident took place on August 22 in the Kargil area through which the Srinagar-Leh Road passes fairly close to the line of control in this sector which had seen some very heavy fighting in the last two Indo-Pak wars because of its strategic importance.

Latest clash: The latest clash occurred on last Monday in the Uri sector in which six Pakistani soldiers were killed when they tried to infiltrate across the line of control to the Indian side. It is an equally important area because of its proximity to the Kashmir valley which would be the prime target of any Pakistani invasion.

In the case of the Nubra valley incursion, the Pakistan army tried to justify it by maintaining that the old ceasefire line did not extend to the higher glacier areas where no fighting had taken place during the 1947-48 Kashmir operations. So it was contended that there was no question of a new Line of Actual Control replacing a non-existent ceasefire line in the area, stressing that it had at no stage accepted the validity of the present Indian dispositions in the Nubra valley leading to it.

Doubly intriguing: But no such arguments have been advanced either now or in the past about the demarcation of the line of control in Kargil, Uri or any other sectors where the old ceasefire line had been clearly marked on the maps exchanged in 1948 at the time of the ceasefire agreement. So it is doubly intriguing, from India's point of view, why Pakistan has chosen to create the latest incidents in the Kargil and Uri sectors, unnecessarily sacrificing the lives of its soldiers, unless it was in pursuit of some political or strategic considerations.

It is this aspect that is being carefully looked into by Indian experts to assess the possible Pakistani motives. It is not inconceivable that, taking advantage of India's domestic preoccupations, Pakistan feels emboldened to make some probing moves for creating a politically controversial situation in which it could repudiate the Simla commitment replacing the old ceasefire line with a new Line of Actual Control which both sides have pledged to respect pending an ultimate settlement of the Kashmir problem.

It does not mean that Pakistan is itching for a new confrontation or conflict with India, although it might try to step up the tensions along this disputed border with a series of deliberate incursions. The Indian Army Commanders in the area have been watching these developments carefully, without allowing themselves to be provoked into any over-reaction.

The Indian Commanders in all the three sectors have sought flag meetings with the Pakistani Commanders across the Line of Actual Control to sort out the misunderstanding, if any, at the local levels without involving the two governments. But the Nubra valley dispute had to be taken up by the Foreign Secretary, Mr M.K. Rasgotra, directly with the Vice-Chief of the Pakistan Army, General Arif Khan, during his last visit to Islamabad, following the Pakistani attempt to deny the existence of any ceasefire line or Line of Actual Control in this glacier region.

No room for controversy: But there is no room for any such controversy in regard to the Kargil and Uri sectors where altogether 12 Pakistani soldiers have been killed in the two engagements on August 22 and 27 with no casualties on the Indian side. The Indian policy is not to be provoked unduly by such incidents, but deal with them effectively by killing the intruders if they do not heed the warnings to get back to their side.

There was a heavy exchange of fire from both sides in all the three clashes and the Indian troops displayed their superior fire power from their well fortified positions, leaving the Pakistani troops in no doubt whatsoever of what would happen if they indulged in further provocations.

CSO: 4600/1162

SRI LANKA, ISRAELI AGENTS AMONG TAMIL REFUGEES

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by J. Sri Raman]

[Text]

Madras, Aug 28—A Sri Lankan Tamil politician now in London, Mr Vaikuntavasan, is among the leaders of the "fifth column" among the minority refugees from the island abroad, according to knowledgeable sources.

Mr Vaikuntavasan, it is recalled, had once unsuccessfully contested in a parliamentary election in Sri Lanka against Mr Chelvanyagam, father of the island community movement.

Some political groups in Tamilnadu carrying on a solidarity campaign that hardly helps the Eelam cause are known to have connections with Mr Vaikuntavasan and his Eelam information centre in London. The campaign is, among other things, for conquest of Sri Lanka by India as part of its legitimate territory.

Mr Vaikuntavasan, it is learnt, took up this campaign at the controversial World Tamil Conference in New York. He sought to move two resolutions there — for making Sri Lanka "the 23rd state of India" and for formation of a "provisional government of Eelam" in India.

The motions were disallowed but not without Mr Viakuntavasan and his group putting up a fight. The campaign, however, is being continued through propaganda in Tamilnadu.

He is not the only Sri Lankan Tamil to be suspected of working against the community's cause. "We apprehend that some Tamils from

Colombo, who are in Madras ostensibly for their children's education, are working for the Sri Lankan intelligence service" said Mr Uma Maheshwaran, leader of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE).

The leadership of the PLOTE as well as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have gone on record charging the Sri Lankan intelligence service with infiltrating into the ranks of the militant Eelam groups.

The Opposition in Tamilnadu, meanwhile, fears a link up between Colombo and the State police. Tamilnadu Kamaraj Congress leader P Nedumaran, talking to this correspondent, named director general of police Mohan Das in this regard. He alleged that the police had passed on the photographs and Sri Lankan addresses of a group of refugees to Colombo.

(He had raised the issue in the State legislature and written to the Chief Minister about it, but has received no reply so far).

The question of foreign agents active in the State, too, continues to cause concern. According to the information of one of the Sri Lankan Tamil groups, there are at least 25 members of the Shin Bet, one of the Israeli intelligence agencies, currently operating here. According to a source close to this group, a centre for the export of terracotta handicraft in Thanjavur district provides one of the covers for such agents.

CSO: 4600/1157

INDIAN ENVOY TARGET OF PAKISTAN MEDIA WRATH

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Aug 84 p 7

[Text]

Islamabad, Aug 28 (PTI) — Indian ambassador, K D Sharma, appears to have become the main target of wrath of the state-controlled Pakistani media for the criticism of Pakistan's handling of the hijack incident last week in India as well as in international quarters.

Mr Sharma had publicly criticised Pakistani authorities for allowing the Indian Airlines Boeing to leave Lahore after it was hijacked there from Chandigarh on Friday last.

Stories emanating from official sources expressed surprise and dismay over Mr Sharma's statement and denied the charge that the Pakistani authorities acted in a hurry to allow the plane to leave.

Mr Sharma was called to the Pakistan Foreign Office by Abdul Sattar, additional secretary and the two met for about 45 minutes on Monday. Mr Shashank, Minister in the Indian embassy, was also present at the meeting.

Mr Sattar stoutly defended Pakistan's handling of the Indian hijacked plane and expressed displeasure over criticism of Pakistan in the Indian media as well in international quarters.

The Indian ambassador reiterated that he was not properly and promptly informed about the devel-

opments at Lahore and Karachi airports. At times he had to rush out from the lounge at Lahore airport to find out the latest developments from Pakistani officials.

Mr Sharma pointed out that he saw the Indian Airlines Boeing take off from Lahore while he was talking to Lt Gen Mujibur Rahman, secretary, Ministry for Information and Culture.

Meanwhile, Pakistan television's coverage of the hijacking incident seems to contradict certain facts as stated by the Pakistani officials.

Pakistani authorities claimed on Friday afternoon that they had blocked the runway to prevent the aircraft from leaving Lahore. The Pakistan television, however showed the ground staff signalling to the pilot as the aircraft started moving. Indian officials pointed out.

They said that it was not mentioned that the hijackers were armed with a pistol or revolver while the plane was at Lahore airport.

The Pakistan television in its midnight bulletin said that the hijackers were carrying a pistol. This was much after the plane had landed at Karachi.

CSO: 3400/1157

BRIEFS

CONGRESSMEN'S PLANNED VISIT--New Delhi, Sept 1--The Government of India does not favour the visit of a group of U.S. Congressmen, sponsored by some Sikhs, to study the Punjab situation, and is unlikely to permit them into the country, reports UNI. This became clear from the comment of a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, when asked to react to reports from Washington. The spokesman said "we have no such information. Members of the Congress, as leaders of a friendly democratic country, have been coming here in the past and will be welcome. "But this is an independent country and we cannot be a playground for foreign interests or activities, promoted by anti-Indian elements abroad," he said. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 2 Sep 84 p 1]

PRESIDENT TO MAURITIUS--New Delhi, Aug 26--President Zail Singh will pay a State visit to Mauritius from October 22 to 26 at the invitation of the Governor-General, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, it was officially announced yesterday, reports PTI. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Aug 84 p 11]

MADHYA PRADESH CABINET--Bhopal, Aug 9 (UNI)--The Madhya Pradesh chief minister, Mr Arjun Singh, today inducted Mr Shrawan Kumar Patel as minister of state into his council of ministers and changed the portfolios of six others. Mr Patel, sworn in this afternoon, has been given independent charge of the sports and youth welfare department and has also been attached to the commerce and industries department as minister of state. The minister of state for forests, Mr Mahesh Joshi, has now been given charge of the urban welfare department while the minister of state, Mr Satyanarain Agarwal was allotted agriculture. The chief minister has given independent charge of the minor irrigation department to the minister of state, Mr Mohan Lal Chaudhary. Mr Bapulal Malviya, minister of state for Harijan welfare, has been given the additional charge of forests, while the public health engineering department has been given to the deputy minister, Mr Shiv Pratap Singh. Dr Bhanwar Singh Porte has been given the portfolio of higher education. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 10 Aug 84 p 4]

STUDENTS IN MOSCOW--Calcutta, Aug 28--The number of Indian students studying in Moscow has come down from 350 to 244 during the last 10 years, the West Bengal minister for higher education, Mr Shambhu Ghosh told newsmen here today. On contrast, students from Bangladesh have doubled--100 to 200--

during the same period. The sharp fall in Indian students was because the government of India took no initiative to send students to the USSR. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 Aug 84 p 2]

CPI-ML EXPULSION--Calcutta, Aug 31--The former MLA of the state Assembly, Mr Santosh Rana, has been expelled from the CPI(ML) for "carrying out ideological subversion in the party for the last three years." Mr Bhaskar Nandy, who was secretary of the Assam state committee of the CPI(ML), was also expelled on same grounds. According to Mr S.N. Singh, general secretary of the CPI(ML), a national conference of the party was held a few days back in this state. The conference unanimously elected Mr Singh as the general secretary and was addressed by many other Naxalite leaders belonging to other groups. Both Mr Rana and Mr Nandy were politburo members of the party but had developed ideological differences with Mr Singh. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Sep 84 p 2]

BIHAR CABINET APPOINTMENT--Patna, Aug 31 (UNI)--The Bihar chief minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh, today allocated the rural reconstruction and panchayati raj portfolios to Mr Ramsharan Prasad Singh, a new entrant to his Cabinet. Mr Sing was included in the Cabinet on Monday after being removed as PCC(I) chief. The two portfolios have been held by the chief minister, since February 13, when Mr Rafiq Alam, ceased to be a Cabinet member as he had completed six months without being a member of the legislature. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Sep 84 p 4]

SOVIET MACHINE PURCHASE--Moscow, Sept 1 (PTI)--The USSR State Committee for Material Technical supply has signed a seven million rouble contract with the Indian Xerographic Systems Limited for the supply of several types of Xerox units. Mr Bhupendra Kumart Modi of the Xerographic systems has stated that he has already supplied over 2,200 multiplication units worth about 23 million rouble to the Soviet Union and plans to open an office in Moscow, Tass reported here. The Indian firm has already established links with Czechoslovakia and the GDR and is negotiating deliveries to Poland and Hungary. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Sep 84 p 2]

JANATA BREAKAWAY PARTIES--The Rashtriya Janata Party and the Hindustan Praja Party, two breakaway groups of the Janata Party, led by Mr Raj Narain and Dr Subramaniam Swamy respectively, on Wednesday merged with the Lok Dal as part of an attempt to form a united Opposition party. At a convention held on Wednesday in New Delhi, the three parties decided to form a united party under Mr Charan Singh's leadership. It was also resolved that the flag and the symbol of the new party would be that of the Lok Dal. The convention authorised a nine-member committee, headed by Mr Charan Singh to decide the name of the new party, its constitution and the organisational structure. Other members of the committee are Mr Satyendra Narain Sinha, Mr Banarsi Das, Dr Subramaniam Swamy, Mr Janeswar Mishra, Mr Padamdeo Narain Sharma, Mr Ashok Krishna Dutt, Mr Ram Bahadur Singh and Mr Raj Narain. The convention gave a call to the other opposition parties to help build a united opposition party to provide an effective alternative to the Congress-I. Addressing the convention, Mr Charan Singh lashed out at Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for her failures on the economic front. He said the country's major problems were unemployment, poverty and a widening gap between the rich and the poor. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Aug 84 p 6]

CSO: 4600/1164

PAPER CONSIDERS U.S., USSR 'EQUAL PARTNERS AGAINST MUSLIMS'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] There has been a big hue and cry since last Thursday when the United States used its veto power to kill the Lebanese draft in the Security Council which asked Israel to leave South Lebanon and respect the civil and political rights of the people in that part of the world.

The draft resolution was killed and the deprived people of South Lebanon still are under the domination of the usurper regime which is imposing every day new restrictions on them. The Israeli imposed restrictions have made South Lebanon 'a big prison.'

The sufferings of the deprived people of South Lebanon are immense but there are people and there are countries who have no real sympathies with the people of South Lebanon. But yet they want to reap the fruits from a situation which arose following the rejection of the Lebanese draft last Thursday.

There are dailies in the region who are shedding crocodile tears in sympathy with the South Lebanese people and are trying to be heroes for the struggle against the Zionist regime.

There is the Soviet Union which, with full force, is condemning the United States because that country was against the move for pulling out the forces of Israel from South Lebanon.

The recent articles in the Soviet media and speeches of the leaders make it look as though the biggest sympathizer of the Moslems is the Soviet Union. The Soviets think that the people and especially the Moslems of the world have short memories and they have forgotten the call of the General Assembly and the Security Council for the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan. This time the United States used its veto against the Moslems of South Lebanon and at that time the Soviets used the same right against the Afghan Moslems. Is there any difference? Not at all. The only difference is that this time the Soviets are trying to prove that they are friends of the Moslems and the United States is their enemy and at that time the United States was trying to prove to be friend of the Moslems and painted a picture of the Soviets as anti-Moslems.

The fact is that both lie. They were never and they will never be friends of Moslems. Rather they are equal partners in enmity against the Moslems as a whole.

These Superpowers condemn each other on the use of the veto power and continue to use this unwanted power if their own interest is at stake. This situation will continue as long as this power is retained with the 'big five.'

A short history of the use of the veto power shows us that the Soviet Union was the first country to use this power on Feb 16, 1946 when the United Nations was still headquartered in London. Ironically the issue was also Lebanon.

The veto power was used by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky who killed the draft on the withdrawal of the British and French troops from Lebanon and Syria.

Since then the Soviet Union used its veto power 115 times, more than all others combined. The United States has used the veto power 39 times, Britain 22, France 15 and China four.

There is no other way but to kill the veto power so that it may not kill the opinion of the majority. The sooner this power goes the better it will be and in the best interests of the deprived people of the world.

CSO: 4600/764

IRAN

TALEBANI DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH KHOMEYNI, SADDAM, BARZANIS

London KEYHAN in Persian 13 Sep 84 p 5

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] For as long as Molla Mostafa Barzani led the Iraq Kurdish movement against the central government, Kak Jalal preferred to be called an agent of the government rather than accept the leadership of Molla Mostafa.

The differences between these two stem from old hostilities which had resulted in a bloody war between their two tribes in 1880. From then on, the Talebanis of eastern Soleymaniyyeh and the Barzanis of Sarsang and Karkuk have shown no inclination to reduce the effects of the bloody battle in Soleymaniyyeh. Even when the Kurdish Part democratic party was established, Talebani became the leader of the progressive faction, while Molla Mostafa led the traditional, conservative forces.

When in 1975, with the signing of the Algerian agreement by the late shah and Saddam Hoseyn, Iran stopped its support for the Kurdish strugglers in exchange for its rule over the Shatt-al-Arab, and Barzani and his hurt, homeless supporters were forced to leave Iraq to reside in Iran, Jalal Talebi, who had until that time considered "the acceptance of help to fight a dependent regime from an even more dependent regime" as treason against the national goals of the Kurds, very quietly left Baghdad and then Iraq for Syria in order to assume the leadership of the Kurds with the help of the rivals of the Iraq regime in Damascus, taking advantage of the absence of Barzani and the anger created in the hearts of the Kurdish idealists. Nevertheless, the departure of the Barzanis and the fact that most of the Kurds had become weary of the war resulted in the failure of Talebani in his efforts. The central government succeeded in suppressing the voices of protest in Kurdistan by granting a degree of autonomy and placing a loyal government supporter, Taha Muhyi-al-Din Ma'ruf, in the position of vice president of the government.

Like the Communists of Iraq, Talebani was forced during these years to compromise with the government and to stay calm in Soleymaniyyeh. This calm continued up to 1978, when the Kurdish Part democratic party and the united socialist party of Kurdistan formed a front which later on became a united party called the national union of Kurdistan.

One of the most important reasons for choosing this name was to pave the way for the entry of other forces, including the Communists (in 1979) and the Trotskyists of the leftist independent movement (in 1981), into this party. On the other hand, the use by the children of Molla Mostafa (Edris and Mas'ud) of the name Part democratic party came after the congress of the party was unsuccessful in choosing a new party leader, having become known as the party of Iraqi Kurdistan--the transitional leadership, according to Talebani, had harmed the historical attractiveness of the name democratic party.

Following the coming to power of the regime of Ayatollah Khomeyni and its support for Mas'ud and Edris Barzani and their allies and the start of the Iran-Iraq war, although Jalal Talebani was at the head of the Kurdish opponents of the central government of Iraq, he never agreed to be placed under the banner of the Islamic Republic on the same front with the Barzanis. In Syria, he formed the "national union for the liberation of Iraq" with the Communist party of Iraq, the Ba'thist forces which support Damascus, and the pro-Naser socialists, and despite the recommendations of Damascus, he rejected negotiations with the Iraqi opponents residing in Iran and soon recalled the forces that he had sent to Iran. Undoubtedly, Talebani's suspicion concerning the regime of Ayatollah Khomeyni was not solely due to the regime's support for the Barzani forces, but the hostility of the regime's forces with the forces of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, and the common goals of Qasemlu and Talebani have had a major role in this judgment. Taking advantage of this opportunity and getting help from Qasemlu and other Kurdish leaders who opposed the regime of Ayatollah Khomeyni, after the victory of the Iranian army in the Khorramshahr battle and the liberation of two-thirds of the occupied Iranian territory and when the Iraqi army changed its aggressive position and was forced to assume a defensive posture, the government of Iraq began negotiations with Talebani to reach a permanent settlement of the Baghdad claims. These negotiations were followed up in London, Paris, Prague, and Vienna, and it is reported that the Soviet recommendations to both parties were instrumental in the signing of the April 1984 agreement.

In His Birthplace

Today, Jalal Talebani resides in his birthplace, a village near the city of Soleymaniyyeh in Iraq. Last week, in an interview

with AL-TALI'EH magazine, published in Paris, he stated his reasons for not cooperating with the regime of Ayatollah Khomeyni and compromising with the central government. Parts of this interview follow.

[Question] After years of struggle and a few short periods of calm with the government of Iraq, where does the Kurdish revolution stand today? In other words, which Kurdish faction and forces do you represent today? Have you essentially been able to compromise with the government?

Talebani: I have frequently stated my reason for agreement instead of compromise with the regime of Iraq and I will point them out again. However, I must first of all say what line we represent and who is with and who is against us. At the present time, all the independent, Kurdish progressive and democratic forces are with us. The only group with which we do not have good relations, and with which, due to their dependence, we are not inclined to cooperate, consists of those individuals connected with Mas'ud and Edris Barzani. In addition to having contact with the United States and Israel, at the present time, they serve as the riflemen of the Guards Corps of Khomeyni's regime. They are paid by Khomeyni not only to fight Iraq, but also to become the front line of attack against the Iranian Kurds. This treason is unforgivable. Even if the Kurds of Iraq are unable to help their fighting brothers in Iran, at least they should not take up arms against them. We have a saying: "Even if you are not a flower for me, do not be a thorn." The children of Barzani have committed acts which I sometimes am embarrassed to refer to as those committed by one Kurd against another. For instance, in recent weeks in the heavy and expansive attacks which were carried out against the Iranian Kurds in the areas of Dulehtu, Mankava, and Davud'u, the Barzani forces were on the front lines of the government guards and carried out a horrible massacre in the villages of Kurdistan.

[Question] Considering the attitude of Mas'ud and Edris, do you still think they still have power and influence in Iraqi Kurdistan?

Talebani: They only have influence among the reactionary and right wing Kurdish circles and their own tribe.

[Question] What is your opinion about the Khomeyni regime and the ongoing war between Iran and Iraq?

Talebani: The regime governing Iran is reactionary, fascist, aggressive against the rights of the nation, and characterized by sectarian narrow-mindedness. They say that they intend to establish an Islamic Republic in Iraq. What business is it of theirs? If another regime is to come to power in Iraq, we must

do it ourselves, not the regime of Khomeyni. They are not fighting the regime of Iraq when they say Saddam must go. In fact, they are hiding their main objective. The issue is not Saddam. Their intention is to establish a backward, reactionary regime in Iraq and to trample the economic, social and government rights of the people in that country. See how they have treated the national, progressive opposition in Iraq. In the face of this opposition, they have created a reactionary parliament made up of people like themselves only to suppress the nationalists, as they did in their own country with the nationalist Iranians.

[Question] Given this assessment, how is it that you were attempting to cooperate with this regime under the banner of Khomeyni?

Talebani: Our early cooperation, during the time when Khomeyni's regime came to power, was based on geographical necessities and was very limited. At this stage, we had many conflicts and problems. The arms which were imported to Iran from elsewhere were confiscated by the guards of the regime, despite all the promises that Khomeyni and Khamene'i had made personally, and were put at the disposal of a reactionary group wanting to implement the aims of Khomeyni's regime in Iraq. There was no place for us in Tehran, especially when the regime decided to enter Iraq's soil from the northern front in Kurdistan, that is, to occupy our area.

This is where we drew the line. We were in conflict with the government of Iraq, and still are, but the army of Iraq is not our enemy. We did not consider it right to fight the army, and we are still of the same opinion.

Disappointment with Iran

[Question] Was it after being disappointed with Iran and the attack of Iran on Iraq in 1982 that you decided to negotiate with the Ba'thist government?

Talebani: This was one of the reasons. Another reason was the expression of willingness on the part of the government to talk and send mediators to us. My goal is to implement all the principles and articles of the Kurdistan autonomy plan. We do not intend to be separated and independent by any means. When I saw it was possible to attain this goal through negotiations, I preferred to prevent further bloodshed and at the same time, while the government is at war with the regime of Khomeyni, not to appear on the scene as Khomeyni's fifth column.

[Question] How far have the negotiations progressed?

Talebani: They have been very successful thus far. We have been able to resolve the most important of our problems, increase the budget of the autonomous region, and obtain aid from the government to repair the damages and raise the standard of living to that of the advanced areas of the country. Of course, we still have many unresolved problems, but I am hopeful for the future.

[Question] What will happen to the situation of Karkuk, over which you had a dispute with the government? Will this town remain in the autonomous region?

Talebani: No, Karkuk will not be included in this area; but we are negotiating with the Kurdish inhabitants about the area around it.

[Question] Did you also meet with Saddam Hoseyn?

Talebani: Yes, I met with him twice, and we talked very openly and frankly. I feel that if we had not reached an agreement with him, if tomorrow he goes, a more extremist person might take his place, with whom any sort of agreement would be impossible, or the kind of people would come to power about whom I have talked before. We must be prepared for every possibility. I think if calm and constructiveness returns to Kurdistan of Iraq, we will safeguard this area against further problems and occurrences.

[Question] What will be the situation of the armed forces of the national unity of Kurdistan? Now that the war is over and peace has arrived, what will you do with them?

Talebani: At the present time, this group has the responsibility of defending Kurdistan and the rest of the areas of the homeland against the aggression of the regime of Khomeyni. And when the war is finished, they will act as the border guards of the country.

[Question] It is said that you had sent some people to Iran to negotiate with the Barzanis.

Talebani: Even though I knew what the results of this action would be, in order to create national ties among all the forces throughout Kurdistan, I engaged in this action. However, after the participation of the Barzanis in the military operations of Haj 'Omran, I halted these talks. The issue has gone beyond negotiations. We have to think of something else; they are beyond hope.

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MINISTER OF MINES, METALS OUTLINES PROGRAMS, DECISIONS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Mines and Metals Engineer Hoseyn Nili by press, radio and television reporters; date and place not specified]

[Text] In a press, radio and television interview, the minister of mines and metals outlined the most important activities and accomplishments of this Ministry to reporters of the mass media.

According to a report by our KEYHAN economic correspondent, Engineer Hoseyn Nili, the minister of mines and metals, first expressed greetings to the great leader of the revolution and the Islamic combatants, and, in connection with the goals, policies, and programs of mines and metals in regards to industry, he said: The Ministry of Mines and Metals is the first and a most important link in the connected spectrum of the country's industries. In fact, the main duty of this Ministry is to mine the raw materials which can be used in the country and change them into minerals which can be used in industry. It must also provide the essential metals for the country. At the same time, this Ministry must have a very coordinated and calculated relationship with the Ministries of Heavy Industries and Industries. Its relationship with the Ministry of Heavy Industries is that it must turn the metals needed by heavy industries into machinery to provide the equipment needed by that industry. In exchange, the duty of the Ministry of Heavy Industries with regard to all the industries of the country and those industries under the auspices of mines and metals is to be prepared to manufacture the parts and other needs of the parent industry in its units. In connection with the Ministry of Industries, this relationship is much deeper, because this Ministry, in fact, must provide most of the industrial raw material needs domestically. In this connection, it can be said that 60 percent of the raw materials can be procured from domestic resources. With the studies in geology and the mining

discoveries we have made, we are certain that we are capable of providing even more than 60 percent. We are on a sea of resources; the mineral resources of the country are truly unmatched and abundant.

He said: Permits for the operation of 100 mines throughout the country in the course of the past 6 months; increases in the production of iron ore in the first months of this year compared to a similar period last year; increases in the production of coal in the mines; the completion of preliminary explorations in the mines of the country, identifying reserves of 700 million tons of alunite, 98 million tons of kaolin, 2 million tons of silica, 56 million tons of perlite, 48 million tons of asbestos dust, 5.6 million tons of phosphate (asfurdi), and 420,000 tons of industrial soil, are among the other activities of this Ministry.

He added: The preliminary exploration of these large resources is the result of years of effort on the part of the brothers in the geology organization. Plans must be made for the next exploratory stages.

He said: Coal explorations in Tabas estimate reserves of 700 million tons and are assure 70 million tons, and iron ore reserves in Sangan are estimated at 300 million tons, with 130 million tons assured.

He said: Identification, exploration, purification, excavation, smelting, and making metal ingots are the stages of this organization, whose most important concern is to operate and identify the mines. Our primary goal is to do a scientific geological survey of the country on a 1:100,000 scale.

He said: According to law, the mines of the country are divided into four categories. The mines in the first category contain construction materials such as gypsum, limestone, gravel and sand, which do not need to be identified. The mines in the second category include those of precious metals, phosphates, nitrates, (fenerit), kaolin, carbonate and sodium. The major activities of the Ministry of Mines and Metals concentrate on these mines. The third and fourth categories are uranium and oil, each of which are related to the activities of the atomic energy organization and the Ministry of Petroleum.

He said: In the law for mines ratified during the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984, little was anticipated regarding the activities of the private sector in the area of mining in the country. There was need for more study before work could be done

in this area. It was decided that an amendment should be added to the law to lay the groundwork for the activities of this important sector. The bill was ratified by the Cabinet and will be presented to the Majlis. This bill proposes that the period for the implementation of the agreement with the cooperative companies and the private sector be increased from three to five years and the groundwork be laid for activities in the mines in the second category.

He added: The most important activities of this Ministry since its establishment have been in the steel mill units. The operation of 14 coal silos with a capacity of 2,500 tons each; the tall furnace No 2, with a capacity of 3,300 tons of cast iron per day; 2 turbo generators with a capacity of 115 megawatts; the chemical purification factory, with a purification capacity of 530 cubic meters of water; 2 compressors, each capable of handling 550 tons per day at a purity of 90 percent; and steel smelting workshop No 4, with a capacity to turn 450,000 tons of melted steel into ingots, in the Esfahan steel mill and the operation of the molybdenum purification unit and copper complex of Kerman have been among the major activities of the Ministry of Mines and Metals.

He said: In September of this year, a large, 750,000 ton rack in the steel mill will be put into operation, reaching the production line.

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OIL MINISTER: REFINERIES CAPACITY INCREASED BY 50 PERCENT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 9 Sep 84 pp 22, 23

[Text] The daily distribution of petroleum products in the country has exceeded 100,000 tons, and with the 50 percent increase in the country's refining capacity, several billion rials in currency will be saved annually.

Engineer Gharazi, our country's Minister of Petroleum, announced this during his recent trip to Tabriz. While stating that current oil exports are satisfactory, he said that Iran's daily oil exports are more than 1 million barrels.

On the basis of reports received, during the visit of Engineer Gharazi, Minister of Petroleum, to Tabriz, he met with a gathering of workers at this city's refinery and discussed their problems and difficulties. In a subsequent speech he referred to the problem of fuel delivery in the country. He said:

Every day 100 thousand tons of petroleum products are distributed throughout the country by pipeline and tanker. He noted that the country's refining capacity has increased by 50 percent, and in view of several billion rials in annual sales, money will be saved.

The Minister of Petroleum then characterized the petroleum exploration, extraction, production, and drilling industries as the major focus of activity in the Ministry of Petroleum. He said:

In the area of the drilling industry, which is an American monopoly, Iran has made striking progress since the triumph of the Islamic revolution, and this work has been done by the Ministry of Petroleum through the efforts of Iranian specialists and experts. He expressed the hope that drilling in Iran would reach 90,000 meters by the end of the current year [20 March 1985] and that the petroleum industry would be able to achieve industrial self-sufficiency.

Our country's Minister of Petroleum Gharazi also discussed the status of petroleum exports in a talk with the Central News Agency. He said:

In recent months the Islamic republic has made great efforts to raise the price of oil, which is low, to a desirable level. In this regard, the message of the Islamic republic to leaders of the petroleum exporting countries was to refrain as much as possible from excess oil exports. While characterizing these measures as fruitful, he said that Iran's petroleum exports have an appropriate position in the market, and announced that they are at a level of 1 million barrels per day. He recalled that during the first half of the current year [21 Mar - 22 Sep 1984], despite the problems with attacks on tankers in the gulf and so forth, the currency called for by enacted legislation was obtained.

He also stressed: In view of the undesirable situation in the market and because of our presence in OPEC, it is our duty to take control of OPEC's preservation and guardianship and the market in order to prevent a drop in the price of oil.

During this interview, Engineer Gharazi said concerning the delivery of natural gas to the cities:

In the matter of natural gas distribution, the Ministry of Petroleum has given priority to our country's cold areas. In this area studies have been conducted in 80 of our country's cities, and gas delivery operations will also begin in the Province of East Azarbaijan next year.

According to the same reports, the Minister of Petroleum returned to Tehran after spending two days in Tabriz and meeting with area officials.

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UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ENTRUSTED WITH RURAL TEACHING

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Aug 84 p 3

[Text] Cultural service. Since the victory of the Islamic revolution, 18,000 new schools have been created by the Ministry of Education and 6,000 units have also been purchased.

The report of the Ministry of Education concerning measures taken by this Ministry states in addition to the above announcement:

In order to implement Article 30 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the necessary facilities have been provided to handle the people who must be educated, and priority has been given to the deprived and rural areas. To implement this goal, since the Islamic revolution, 7,000 elementary schools, 2,400 Rahnama'i schools, and 1,000 new high school units have been established in villages.

Based on this report by the Ministry of Education, with attention to the education of the children of villagers, since the revolution, the number of students in elementary schools has increased by 1 million and those in Rahnama'i schools by 300,000.

Another part of this report states that at the present time, 9,249,169 students are engaged in studying in 65,361 schools, with 338,599 classes at various levels. Of this number, 5,447,007 are boys and 3,802,162 are girls.

Also, in the course of the past three years, 538 textbooks have been revised and reprinted. During the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984 alone, 75,567,000 books were printed and made available to students throughout the country. Concerning the education of the children of Iranians residing abroad, the report states: At the present time, a total of 12,624 Iranian children are covered in 24 spots in the world, and 60 educational units, with 374 classes and 580 teachers and personnel, are engaged in teaching them.

Also, in order to compensate for the severe shortage of manpower in schools, which has been created as a result of the increase in the population of students, in the 1982-1983 academic year alone, 5,000 young, committed university students were employed on an hourly basis.

Concerning the activities of the emergency and support headquarters of the Ministry of Education, the above report states:

In order to establish and unify the able and creative forces of the students, employees, and teachers of the country and to tie the stronghold of the schools with the human-making universities of the battlefronts of truth against falsehood, this headquarters was established and began its activities during the period 20 February-20 March 1982. Thus far, 62,285 of these beloved students have volunteered to join the combative forces and a great deal of material help and goods have been put at the disposal of the battle fronts of truth.

Also, in order to eliminate the educational needs of the villages with small populations, a plan for centralized villages has been implemented and accordingly, 3,500 central villages have been selected. With the implementation of the program, the educational needs of the neighboring villages will also be eliminated.

Also, in order to provide the educational personnel needed in the country, 33 rural teacher training schools have been established throughout the country which are now active with 2,800 students.

Another part of this report states: From its establishment to the late winter of 1984, the literacy movement has succeeded in serving 2,908,810 illiterate persons, establishing 167,764 classes. Of this number, excluding those who have not been able to take part in the final examination and those who passed the course during the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984, a total of 750,346 persons succeeded in obtaining certificates. The movement is engaged in preparing plans which, upon completion and ratification by the Cabinet, will be implemented.

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KHAMENE'I: IRAN MUST BECOME MEDICALLY SELF-SUFFICIENT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Aug 84 p 3

[Text] Coinciding with the anniversary of the birth of Mohammad ebn-e Zakariyya-ye Razi, which has been named pharmaceutical day, members of the Imam Khomeyni Islamic foundation for medical services, who are engaged in research in and the revitalization of herbal cures in the country, met with President Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i before noon yesterday.

In this meeting, first a report concerning the establishment of the foundation and the measures and research accomplished in herbal cures in the country was presented to Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i. Then the president, pointing out that medical problems in our country are of particular importance, said: Thank God, in the medical areas, numerous forces exist in the country. And there has been a long history of treatment and medicine from ancient times, and our country can boast of a well known figure in the history of the medicine. He added: Today, there are a significant number of faithful and committed physicians in our country. Considering this, the medical problem must be resolved in our country, and we believe that these problems will be resolved. The president added: The issue of herbal treatments, which you are trying to develop and expand, is very important. One of the advantages of your work is that it brings us closer to self-sufficiency, and another is that it makes use of the many unknown and known resources of this country which were not being taken advantage of. Most importantly, the researching Iranian physician feels that he is bubbling from within and can rely on himself. Of course, at issue is more than self-sufficiency in medicine. At issue is scientific self-sufficiency, which is higher than pharmaceutical self-sufficiency. Continuing his statements, the president pointed out the scientific importance of Avicenna, the learned Iranian physician, and his significant works, which are still considered an important source in teaching medicine in famous universities

throughout the world, and said: When our country benefits from persons such as Avicenna, Razi and others, why should you not hope for the scientific self-sufficiency of the country today? In conclusion, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i emphasized that the Islamic society for the revitalization of herbal cures must pursue its work seriously and inform the people of its work. He said: There are many people who will flock to you if they become aware of your work and energy, and the results of your work will please them. By mobilizing such individuals, you will be able to make significant progress in research and the production of drugs.

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